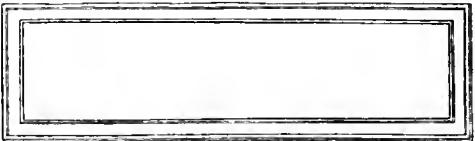


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History of Later Years

OF THE Hawaiian Monarchy.

.....and the Revolution of 1893.

Red

BY PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER.

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PREFACE.

INQUIRIES are continually being made for a brief, clear and dispassionate history of the Revolution of 1893 and of the events that led up to it. The lapse of time has already moderated the bitterness of party spirit, and made it possible to form a juster estimate of the chief actors on both sides of that controversy.

A brief sketch of the salient political events of 1887, was written for Col. J. H. Blount at his own request, and afterwards republished by the Hawaiian Gazette Co. At their request the writer reluctantly consented to continue his sketch through Kalakaua's reign and that of Liliuokalani until the eve of the Revolution of 1893, and afterwards to draw up a more detailed account of the revolution and of the subsequent events of that year. The testimony of the principal witnesses on both sides has been carefully sifted and compared, and no pains has been spared to arrive at the truth.

Much assistance has been derived from a paper by the Rev. S. E Bishop covering the latter part of the period in question, and Chapter VI stands as he wrote it with some slight alterations.

The writer, while not professing to be a neutral, has honestly striven not "to extenuate aught or set down aught in malice," but to state the facts as nearly as possible, in their true relations and in their just proportions. The official documents on both sides bearing on the case are given in full, including the report of Col. J. H. Blount to the President of the United States, and the report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, drawn up by Senator Morgan of Alabama.

W. D. ALEXANDER,



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ERRATA.

Page 11 under Spreckels' Bank Charter, line 4, insert after and, the word "using."

Page 91, 2d column, 10th line, read "having left a land of freedom for one of despotism," etc.

On page 209 after the personnel of the Military Commission insert: Captain John Good, Jr., Company E, and Second Lieutenant E. Oscar White, Company B, also served on the Commission in place of regular members, when they were disqualifed or objected to by the accused. During the latter days of the trial Captain Kinney was relieved as Judge Advocate and A. G. M. Robertson, commissioned aid-de-camp on General staff with rank of Captain, substituted in his place. Alfred Carter, lately Judge Carter, and Hon. W. R. Castle, assisted in preparing the evidence for the prosecution.



The Later Years of Monarchy.

THE REIGNS OF KALAKAUA AND LILIUOKALANI.

PROFESSOR ALEXANDER'S CONTRIBUTION TO BLOUNT'S REPORT.

CHAPTER I.

It is true that the germs of many of the evils of Kalakaua's reign may be traced to the reign of Kamehameha V. The reactionary policy of that monarch is well known. Under him the "recrudescence" of heathenism commenced, as evinced by the Pagan orgies at the funeral of his sister, Victoria Kamamalu, in June, 1866, and by his encouragement of the lascivious hulahula dancers and of the pernicious class of Kahunas or sorcerers. Closely connected with this reaction was a growing jealousy and hatred of foreigners.

INTRIGUES DURING LUNALILO'S REIGN.

During Lunalilo's brief reign, 1873-74, this feeling was fanned into a flame by several causes, viz., the execution of

the law for the segregation of lepers, the agitation caused by the proposal to cede the use of Pearl Harbor to the United States, and the famous mutiny at the barracks. This disaffection was made the most of by Kalakaua, who was smarting under his defeat in the election of January, 8, 1873. Indeed, his manifesto previous to that election appealed to this race prejudice. Thus he promised, if elected, "to repeal the poll tax," "to put native Hawaiians into the Government offices," "to amend the Constitution of 1864," etc. "Beware," he said, "of the Constitution of 1852, and the false teaching of the foreigners, who are now seeking to obtain the direction of the Government, if Lunalilo ascends the throne." Walter Murray Gibson, formerly Mormon apostle and shepherd of Lanai, then professional politician and editor of that scurril-

on's paper, the *Nation*, was bitterly disappointed that he had been ignored in the formation of Lunalilo's cabinet. Accordingly he took the role of an agitator and attached himself to Kalakaua's party. They were both disappointed at the result of the barracks mutiny, which had undoubtedly been fomented by Kalakaua.

THE ELECTION OF KALAKAUA.

Upon Lunalilo's untimely death, February 3, 1874, as no successor to the throne had been appointed, the Legislature was summoned to meet on the 12th, only nine days after his death. The popular choice lay between Kalakaua and the Queen-Dowager Emma. The Cabinet and the American party used all their influence in favor of the former, while the English favored Emma, who was devoted to their interest. At the same time Kalakaua's true character was not generally understood. The natives knew that his family had always been an idolatrous one. His reputed grandfather, Kamanawa, had been hanged, October 20, 1840, for poisoning his wife, Kamokuiki.

Under Kamehameha V. he had always been an advocate of absolutism, and also of legalizing the furnishing of alcoholic liquors to natives. While he was postmaster a defalcation occurred, which was covered up, while his friends made good the loss to the Government. Like Wilkins Micawber, he was improvident all his life, whatever the amount of his income might be. He was characterized by a fondness for

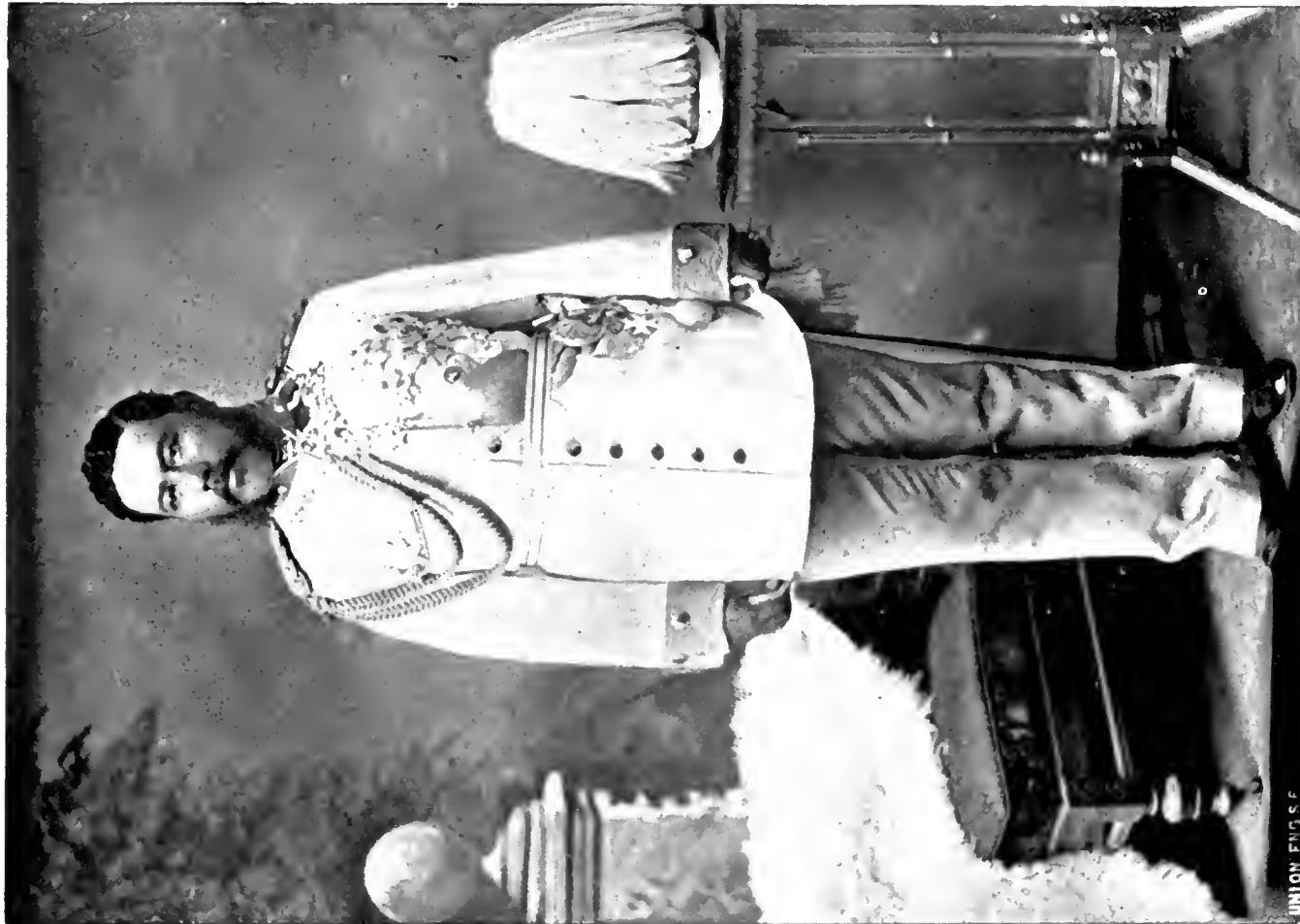
decorations and military show long before he was thought of as a possible candidate for the throne.

It was believed, however, that if Queen Emma should be elected there would be no hope of our obtaining a reciprocity treaty with the United States. The movement in favor of Queen Emma carried the day with the natives on Oahu, but had not time to spread to the other islands. It was charged, and generally believed that bribery was used by Kalakaua's friends to secure his election. Be that as it may, the Legislature was convened in the old court-house (now occupied by Hackfeld & Co.) and elected Kalakaua King by 39 votes to 6.

THE COURT-HOUSE RIOT.

A howling mob, composed of Queen Emma's partizans, had surrounded the court-house during the election, after which they battered down the back-doors, sacked the building, and assaulted the representatives with clubs. Messrs. C. C. Harris and S. B. Dole held the main door against them for considerable time. The mob, with one exception, refrained from violence to foreigners, from fear of intervention by the men-of-war in port.

The cabinet and the marshal had been warned of the danger, but had made light of it. The police appeared to be in sympathy with the populace, and the volunteers, for the same reason, would not turn out. Mr. H. A. Pierce, the American Minister, however, had anticipated the riot, and had agreed with Commander Belknap, of the U. S. S. *Tuscarora*, and



THE LATE KING, DAVID KALAKAU

UNION ENCL



Commander Skerrett, of the *Portsmouth*, upon a signal for landing the troops under their command. At last Mr. C. R. Bishop, Minister of Foreign Affairs, formally applied to him and to Major Wodehouse, H. B. M.'s Commissioner, for assistance in putting down the riot.

A body of 150 marines immediately landed from the two American men-of-war, and in a few minutes was joined by seventy men from H. B. M.'s corvette *Tenedos*, Capt. Ray. They quickly dispersed the mob and arrested a number of them without any bloodshed. The British troops first occupied Queen Emma's grounds, arresting several of the ring-leaders there, and afterwards guarded the palace and barracks. The other Government buildings, the prison, etc., were guarded by American troops until the 20th.

INAUGURATION OF KALAKAUA.

The next day at noon Kalakaua was sworn in as King, under the protection of the United States troops. By an irony of fate the late leader of the anti-American agitation owed his life and his throne to American intervention, and for several years he depended upon the support of the foreign community. In these circumstances he did not venture to proclaim a new constitution (as in his inaugural speech he had said he intended to do), nor to disregard public opinion in his appointments. His first Minister of Foreign Affairs was the late Hon. W. L. Green, an Englishman, universally respected for his integrity and ability, who held this office

for nearly three years, and carried through the treaty of reciprocity in the teeth of bitter opposition.

THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

The following October Messrs. E. H. Allen and H. A. P. Carter were sent to Washington to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity.

The Government of the United States having extended an invitation to the King, and placed the U. S. S. *Benicia* at his disposal, he embarked November 17, 1874, accompanied by Mr. H. A. Pierce and several other gentlemen. They were most cordially received and treated as guests of the nation. After a tour through the Northern States the royal party returned to Honolulu February 15, 1875, in the U. S. S. *Pensacola*. The treaty of reciprocity was concluded January 30, 1875, and the ratifications were exchanged at Washington June 3, 1875.

The act necessary to carry it into effect was not, however, passed by the Hawaiian Legislature till July 18, 1876, after the most stubborn opposition, chiefly from the English members of the house and the partisans of Queen Emma, who denounced it as a step toward annexation. It finally went into effect September 9, 1876.

THE ADVENT OF SPRECKELS.

The first effect of the reciprocity treaty was to cause a "boom" in sugar, which turned the heads of some of our

shrewdest men and nearly caused a financial crash. Among other enterprises the Haiku irrigation ditch, twenty miles in length, which taps certain streams flowing down the northern slopes of East Maui and waters three plantations, was planned and carried out by Mr. S. T. Alexander, in 1877. About that time he pointed out to Col. Claus Spreckels the fertile plain of Central Maui, then lying waste, which only needed irrigation to produce immense crops. Accordingly, in 1878, Mr. Spreckels applied to the cabinet for a lease of the surplus waters of the streams on the northeast side of Maui as far as Honomanu. They flow through a rugged district at present almost uninhabited. The then Attorney-General, Judge Hartwell, and the Minister of the Interior, J. Mott Smith, refused to grant him a perpetual monopoly of this water, as they state it. Up to this time the changes in the cabinet had been caused by disagreements between its members, and had no political significance.

In the mean time, Mr. Gibson, after many months of preparation, had brought in before the Legislature a motion of want of confidence in the ministry, which was defeated June 24, by a vote of 26 to 19. On the night of July 1, Messrs. Claus Spreckels and G. W. Macfarlane had a long conference with Kalakaua at the Hawaiian Hotel on the subject of the water privilege, and adjourned to the palace about midnight. It is not necessary to give the details here, but the result was that letters were drawn up and signed by the King, addressed to

each member of the cabinet, requesting his resignation, without stating any reason for his dismissal. These letters were delivered by a messenger between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning. Such an arbitrary and despotic act was without precedent in Hawaiian history.

The next day a new cabinet was appointed, consisting of S. G. Wilder, Minister of the Interior; E. Preston, Attorney-General; Simon Kaai, Minister of Finance; and John Kapena, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The last two positions were sinecures, but Kaai as a speaker and politician had great influence with his countrymen. The new cabinet granted Mr. Spreckels the desired water privilege for thirty years at \$500 per annum. The opium license and free liquor bills were killed. The actual premier, Mr. Wilder, was probably the ablest administrator that this country has ever had. He infused new vigor into every department of the Government, promoted immigration, carried out extensive public improvements, and at the legislative session of 1880 was able to show cash in the treasury sufficient to pay off the existing national debt. But his determination to administer his own department in accordance with business methods did not suit the King.

Meanwhile Gibson spared no pains to make himself conspicuous as the soi-disant champion of the aboriginal race. He even tried to capture the "missionaries," "experienced religion," held forth at sundry prayer meetings, and spoke in favor of temperance.

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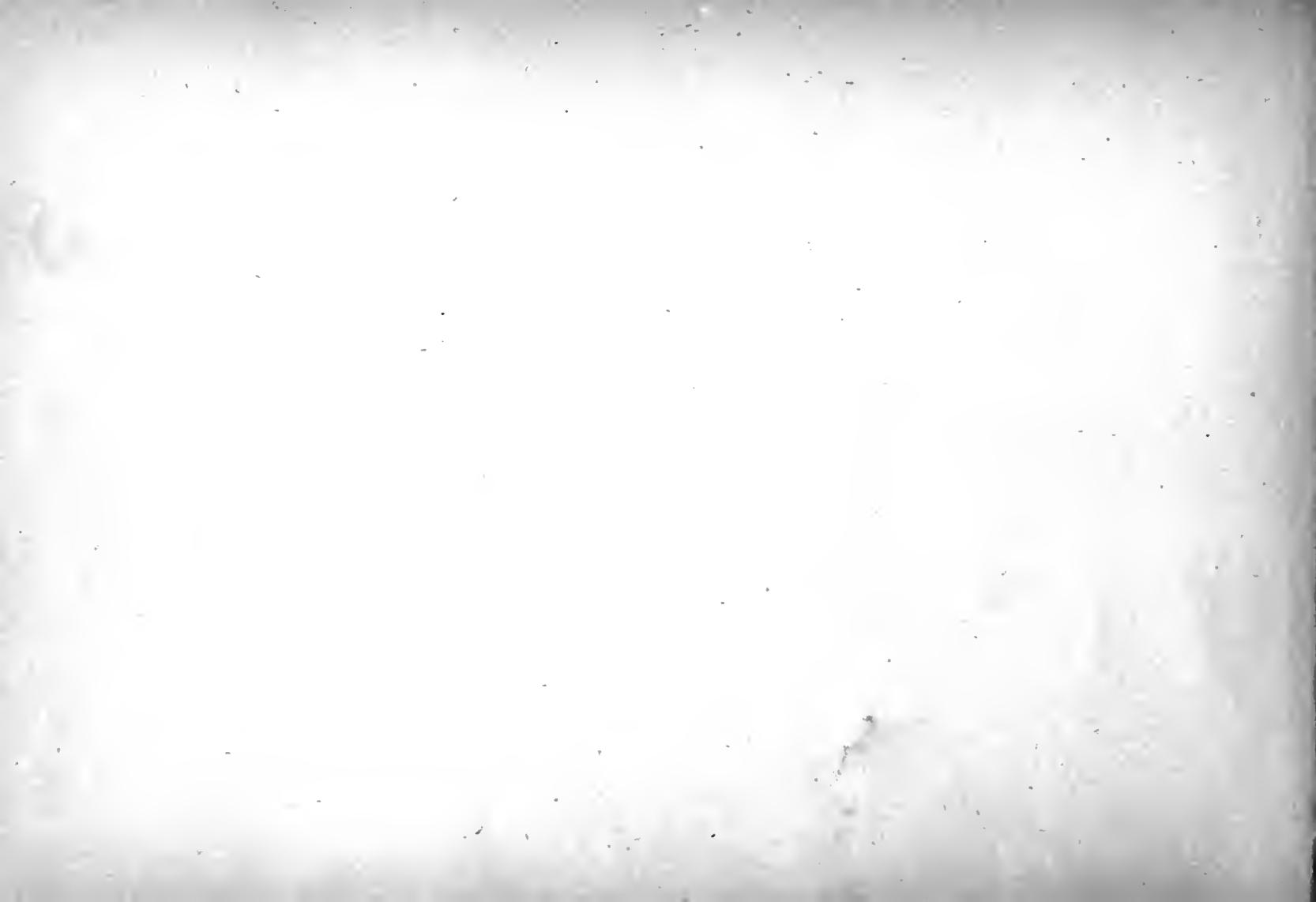
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CELSO CÆSAR MORENO.

The professional lobbyist, Celso Caesar Moreno, well known at Sacramento and Washington, arrived in Honolulu November 14, 1879, on the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company's steamer *Ho-chung*, with the view of establishing a line of steamers between Honolulu and China. Soon afterwards he presented a memorial to the Hawaiian Government asking for a subsidy to the proposed line. He remained in Honolulu about ten months, during which time he gained unbounded influence over the King by servile flattery and by encouraging all his pet hobbies. He told him that he ought to be his own prime minister, and to fill all Government offices with native Hawaiians. He encouraged his craze for a ten-million loan, to be spent chiefly for military purposes, and told him that China was the "treasure house of the world," where he could borrow all the money he wanted. The King was always an active politician, and he left no stone unturned to carry the election of 1880. His candidates advocated a ten-million loan and unlimited Chinese immigration. With Moreno's assistance he produced a pamphlet in support of these views, entitled "A reply to ministerial utterances."

THE SESSION OF 1880.

In the Legislature of 1880 was seen the strange spectacle of the King working with a pair of unscrupulous adventurers to oust his own constitutional advisers, and introducing through

his creatures a series of bills, which were generally defeated by the ministry.

Gibson had now thrown off the mask, and voted for everyone of the King and Moreno's measures. Among their bills which failed were the ten-million loan bill, the opium license bill, the free-liquor bill, and especially the bill guaranteeing a bonus of \$1,000,000 in gold to Moreno's Trans Pacific Cable Company.

The subsidy to the China line of steamers was carried by the lavish use of money; but it was never paid. Appropriations were passed for the education of Hawaiian youths abroad, and for the coronation of the King and Queen.

At last on the 4th of August, Gibson brought in a motion of "want of confidence," which, after a lengthy debate, was defeated by the decisive vote of 32 to 10. On the 14th, the King prorogued the Legislature at noon, and about an hour later dismissed his ministers without a word of explanation, and appointed Moreno, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs; J. E. Bush, Minister of the Interior; W. C. Jones, Attorney-General; and Rev. M. Kuaea, Minister of Finance.

FALL OF THE MORENO MINISTRY.

Moreno was generally detested by the foreign community, and the announcement of his appointment created intense excitement.

For the first time the discordant elements of the foreign community were united, and they were supported by a large propor-

tion of the natives. The three highest and most influential chiefs—Queen Dowager Emma, Ruth Keelikolani and Bernice Pauahi Bishop—joined in condemning the King's course. Two mass meetings were held at the Kaumakapili church, and a smaller one of foreigners at the old Bethel church, to protest against the coup d'etat. The diplomatic representatives of the United States, England and France—General Conly, Major Wodehouse and M. Ratard—raised their respective flags over their legations, and declared that they would hold no further official intercourse with the Hawaiian Government as long as Moreno should be premier. On the side of the King, R. W. Wilcox, Nawahi and others harangued the natives, appealing to their jealousy of foreigners. The following manifesto is a sample:

"WAY-UP CELSO MORENO."

"To all true-born citizens of the country, greeting: We have with us one Celso Cæsar Moreno, a naturalized and true Hawaiian. His great desire is the advancement of this country in wealth, and the salvation of this people, by placing the leading positions of Government in the hands of the Hawaiians for administration. The great desire of Moreno is to cast down foreigners from official positions and to put true Hawaiians in their places, because to them belongs the country. They should hold the Government and not strangers. Positions have been taken from Hawaiians and given to strangers. C. C. Moreno desires to throw down these foreigners and to

elevate to high positions the people to whom belongs the land, i. e., the red skins. This is the real cause of jealousy on the part of foreigners, viz., that Hawaiians shall be placed above them in all things in this well-beloved country. C. C. Moreno is the heart from whence will issue life to the real Hawaiians."

After four days of intense excitement, the King yielded to the storm. Moreno's resignation was announced on the 19th, and his place filled ad interim by J. E. Bush. On the 30th Moreno left for Europe, with three Hawaiian "youths" under his charge, viz., R. W. Wilcox, a member of the late Legislature, 26 years of age, Robert Boyd and James K. Booth. It was afterwards ascertained that he bore a secret commission as minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to all the great powers, as well as letters addressed to the Governments of the United States, England and France, demanding the recall of their representatives. A violent quarrel had broken out between him and his disappointed rival, Gibson, who purchased the *P. C. Advertiser* printing office with Government money September 1, and conducted that paper thenceforth as the King's organ.

Mr. W. L. Green was persuaded to accept the vacant place of minister of foreign affairs September 22. In a few days he discovered what had been done, and immediately notified the representatives of the three powers concerned of the insult that had been offered them.

A meeting was held at his office between the foreign representatives on the one side and himself and J. E. Bush on the

other, at which the letters in question were read. The result was that Mr. Green resigned and compelled the resignation of his colleagues.

THE GREEN-CARTER MINISTRY.

Mr. Claus Spreckels, who arrived September 5, took an active part in these events and in the formation of the new ministry, which consisted of W. L. Green, Minister of Foreign Affairs; H. A. P. Carter, Minister of the Interior; J. S. Walker, Minister of Finance, and W. N. Armstrong, Attorney-General.

Their first act was to annul Moreno's commission, and to send dispatches, which were telegraphed from San Francisco to Washington, London and Paris, disavowing the demands which he had sent. Moreno, however, proceeded on his journey and finally placed the Hawaiian youths, one in a military and two in a naval school in Italy.

THE KING'S TOUR AROUND THE WORLD.

The King immediately began to agitate his project of a trip around the world. As it was known that he was corresponding with Moreno, it was arranged that Mr. C. H. Judd should accompany him as Chamberlain, and Mr. W. N. Armstrong as Commissioner of Immigration. He was received with royal honors in Japan, Siam, and Johore. On the King's arrival in Naples, Moreno made an audacious attempt to take possession of His Majesty and dispense with his companions, but he met with more than his match in Armstrong. The royal party visited

nearly all the capitals of Europe, where the King added a large number of decorations to his collection, and took particular note of military matters and court etiquette. An Austrian field battery which took his eye, afterwards cost this country nearly \$20,000. During the King's absence his sister, Mrs. Dominis, styled Liliuokalani, acted as regent. He returned to Honolulu, October 29, 1881, where he had a magnificent reception, triumphal arches, torches blazing at noon-day, and extravagant adulation of every description.

TRIUMPH OF GIBSON.

During the King's absence he had kept up a correspondence with his political workers at home, and after his return he produced another pamphlet in Hawaiian, advocating a ten-million loan. Gibson's paper had been filled with gross flattery of the King and of the natives, and had made the most of the smallpox epidemic of 1881 to excite the populace against the ministry.

Just before the election of 1882, a pamphlet appeared, containing a scathing exposure of his past career (especially in connection with the Mormon Church), backed by a mass of documentary evidence. Gibson's only reply was to point to his subsequent election by a large majority of the native voters of Honolulu. Only two other white men were elected on the islands that year. It was the first time that the race issue had superseded all other considerations with the native electorate.

SESSION OF 1882.

The Legislature of 1882 was one of the weakest and most corrupt that ever sat in Honolulu. At the opening of the session Minister Carter was absent in Portugal, negotiating a treaty with the Government of that country. It was soon evident that the Ministry did not control a majority of the House, but the King did. After an ineffectual attempt to quiet Gibson by offering him the Presidency of the Board of Health with a salary of \$4000, they resigned May 19th, and Gibson became Premier.

His colleagues were J. E. Bush, lately of Moreno's cabinet; Simon Kaai, who drank himself to death; and Edward Preston, Attorney-General, who was really the mainstay of the Cabinet.

One of their first measures was an act to convey to Claus Spreckels the crown lands of Wailuku, containing some 24,000 acres, in order to compromise a claim which he held to an undivided share of the crown lands. He had purchased from Ruth Keelikolani, for the sum of \$10,000, all the interest which she might have had in the crown lands as being the half-sister of Kamehameha IV., who died intestate. Her claim had been ignored in the decision of the Supreme Court and the Act of 1865, which constituted the crown lands. Instead of testing her right by a suit before the Supreme Court, the Ministry thought it best to accept the above compromise, and carried it through the Legislature.

The prohibition against furnishing intoxicating liquor to natives was repealed at this session, and the consequences to the race have been disastrous. The ten-million loan bill was again introduced, but was shelved in committee and a two-million loan act substituted for it. The appropriation bill was swelled to double the estimated receipts of the Government, including \$30,000 for coronation expenses, \$30,000 for Hawaiian youths in foreign countries, \$10,000 for a Board of Genealogy, besides large sums for the military, foreign embassies, the palace, etc.

At the last moment a bill was rushed through, giving the King sole power to appoint district justices, through his creatures, the governors, which had formerly been done only "by and with the advice of the Justices of the Supreme Court." This was another step toward absolutism. Meanwhile Gibson defended the King's right to be an active politician, and called him "the first Hawaiian King with the brains and heart of a statesman."

At the same time it was understood that Claus Spreckels backed the Gibson ministry and made them advances under the Loan Act.

THE CORONATION.

Kalakaua had always felt dissatisfied with the manner in which he had been sworn in as a King. He was also tired of being reminded that he was not a King by birth, but only by election. To remedy this defect he determined to have

the ceremony performed over again in as imposing a manner as possible. Three years were spent in preparations for the great event, and invitations were sent to all rulers and potentates on earth to be present in person or by proxy on the occasion. Japan sent a commissioner, while England, France and the United States were represented by ships of war. The ceremony took place February 12, 1883, nine years after Kalakaua's inauguration. Most of the regalia had been ordered from London, viz., two crowns, a scepter, ring and sword, while the royal feather mantle, tabu stick and kahili or plumed staff, were native insignia of rank.

A pavilion was built for the occasion, as well as a temporary amphitheatre for the spectators. The Chief Justice administered the oath of office and invested the King with the various insignia. This ceremony was boycotted by the high chiefs, Queen Emma, Ruth Keelikolani and Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, and by a large part of the foreign community, as an expensive and useless pageant intended to aid the King's political schemes to make himself an absolute monarch. The coronation was followed by feasts, a regatta and races, and by a series of nightly hula hulas, *i. e.*, heathen dances, accompanied by appropriate songs. The printer of the coronation hula programme, which contained the subjects and first lines of these songs, was prosecuted and fined by the court on account of their gross and incredible obscenity.

EMBASSIES, ETC.

During this year Mr. J. M. Kapena was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Japan, while Mr. C. P. Iaukea, with H. Poor as secretary, was sent to attend the coronation of the Czar Alexander III. at Moscow, and afterwards on a mission to Paris, Rome, Belgrade, Calcutta and Japan, on his way around the world.

Kalakaua was no longer satisfied with being merely a King of Hawaii, but aspired to what Gibson termed the "Primacy of the Pacific." Captain Tripp and F. L. Clarke were sent as royal commissioners to the Gilbert Islands and New Hebrides to prepare the way for a Hawaiian protectorate; and a parody on the "Monroe doctrine" was put forth in a grandiloquent protest addressed to all the great powers by Mr. Gibson, warning them against any further annexation of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, and claiming for Hawaii the exclusive right "to assist them in improving their political and social condition," *i. e.*, a virtual protectorate of the other groups.

THE HAWAIIAN COINAGE.

The King was now impatient to have his "image and superscription" on the coinage of the realm, to add to his dignity as an independent monarch. As no appropriation had been made for this purpose, recourse was had to the recognized "power behind the throne." Mr. Claus Spreckels purchased the bullion, and arrangements were made with the San Fran-

cisco mint for the coinage of silver dollars and fractions of a dollar, to the amount of one million dollars' worth, to be of identical weight and fineness with the like coins of the United States. The intrinsic value of the silver dollar at that time was about 84 cents. It was intended, however, to exchange this silver for gold bonds at par under the Loan Act of 1882. On the arrival of the first installment of the coin the matter was brought before the Supreme Court by Messrs. Dole, Castle and W. O. Smith. After a full hearing of the case, the court decided that these bonds could not legally be placed except for par value in gold coin of the United States, and issued an injunction to that effect on the Minister of Finance, December 14, 1883. The Privy Council was then convened, and declared these coins to be of the legal value expressed on their face, subject to the legal-tender act, and they were gradually put into circulation. A profit of \$150,000 is said to have been made on this transaction.

THE FIRST RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GIBSON CABINET, 1883.

Mr. Gibson's first Cabinet went to pieces in little over a year. Simon Kaai was compelled to resign in February, 1883, from "chronic ineptitude," and was succeeded by J. M. Kapena. Mr. Peterson resigned the following May from disgust at the King's personal intermeddling with the administration, and in July Mr. Bush resigned in consequence of a falling out with Mr. Gibson. For some time "the secretary stood alone," being at once Minister of Foreign Affairs, Attorney-General

and Minister of the Interior ad interim; besides being a President of the Board of Health, President of the Board of Education and member of the Board of Immigration, with nearly the whole foreign community opposed to him. The price of Government bonds had fallen to 75 per cent. with no takers, and the treasury was nearly empty. At this juncture (August 6) when a change of Ministry was looked for, Mr. C. T. Gulick was persuaded to take the portfolio of the Interior, and a small loan was obtained from his friends. Then to the surprise of the public, Colonel Claus Spreckels decided to support the Gibson Cabinet, which was soon after completed by the accession of Mr. Paul Neumann.

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1884.

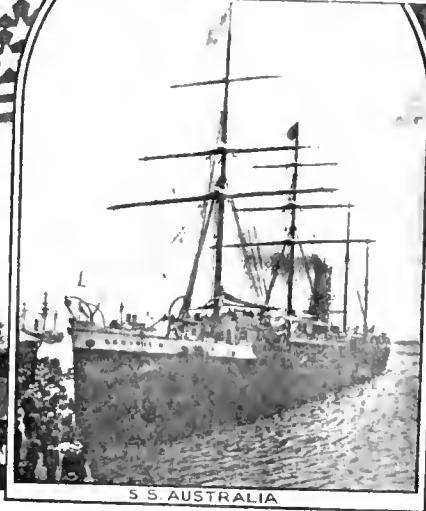
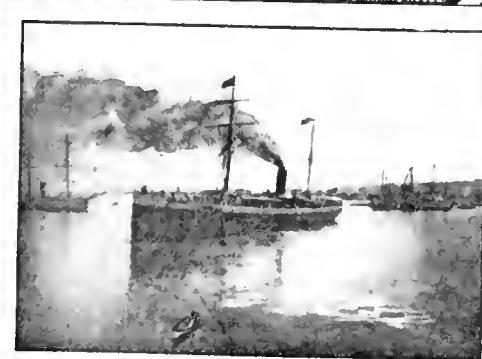
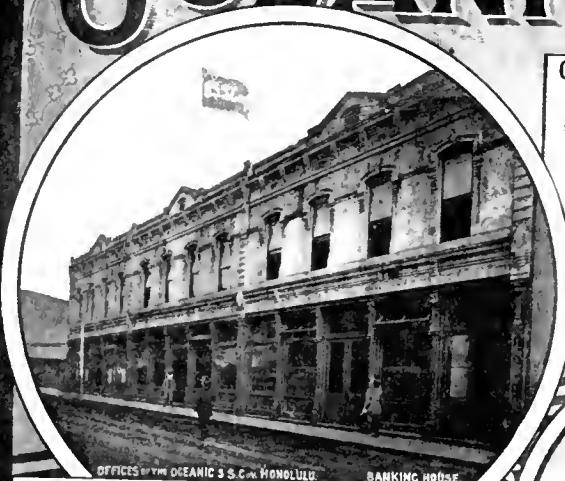
Since 1882 a considerable reaction had taken place among the natives, who resented the cession of Wailuku to Spreckels, and felt a profound distrust of Gibson. In spite of the war cry "Hawaii for Hawaiians," and the lavish use of Government patronage, the Palace party was defeated in the elections generally, although it held Honolulu, its stronghold. Among the Reform members that session were Messrs. Dole, Rowell, Smith, Hitecock, the three brothers, Godfrey, Cecil and Frank Brown, Kauhane, Kalua, Nawahi, and the late Pilipo, of honored memory.

At the opening of the session the Reform party elected the speaker of the house, and controlled the organization of the committees.

OCEANIC S.S.COY

OCEANIC STEAMSHIP CO.
OF SAN FRANCISCO
AND SYDNEY,
SAN FRANCISCO AND SYDNEY,

SAN FRANCISCO





The report of the Finance committee was the most damaging exposure ever made to a Hawaiian Legislature. A resolution of "want of confidence" was barely defeated (June 28) by the four Ministers themselves voting on it.

THE SPRECKELS' BANK CHARTER.

An act to establish a national bank had been drawn up for Colonel Spreckels by a well-known law firm in San Francisco, and brought down to Honolulu by ex-Governor Lowe. After "seeing" the King, and the usual methods in vogue at Sacramento, the ex-Governor returned to San Francisco, boasting that "he had the Hawaiian Legislature in his pocket." But as soon as the bill had been printed and carefully examined, a storm of opposition broke out. It provided for the issue of a million dollars worth of paper money, backed by an equal amount of Government bonds deposited as security. The notes might be redeemed in either silver or gold. There was no clause requiring quarterly or semi-annual reports of the state of the bank. Nor was a minimum fixed of the amount of cash to be reserved in the bank. In fact, most of the safeguards of the American national banking system were omitted. Its notes were to be legal tender except for customs dues. It was empowered to own steamship lines and railroads, and carry on mercantile business, without paying license fees. It was no doubt intended to monopolize or control all transportation within the Kingdom, as well as the importing business from the United States.

The charter was riddled both in the house and in the

chamber of commerce, and indignation meetings of citizens were held until the King was alarmed, and finally it was killed on the second reading by an overwhelming majority. On hearing of the result the sugar king took the first steamer for Honolulu, and on his arrival "the air was blue—full of strange oaths, and many fresh and new." On second thought, however, and after friendly discussion, he accepted the situation, and a fair general banking law was passed, providing for banks of deposit and exchange, but not of issue.

THE LOTTERY BILL, ETC.

At the same session a lottery bill was introduced by certain agents of the Louisiana company. It offered to pay all the expenses of the leper settlement for a license to carry on its nefarious business, besides offering private inducements to venal legislators. In defiance of the public indignation, shown by mass meetings, petitions, etc., the bill was forced through its second reading, but was stopped at that stage and withdrawn, as is claimed, by Col. Spreckels' personal influence with the King.

Kalakaua's famous "Report of the Board of Genealogy" was published at this session. An opium license bill was killed, as well as an eight-million dollar loan bill, while a number of excellent laws were passed. Among these were the currency act and Dole's homestead law. The true friends of the native race had reason to rejoice that so much evil had been prevented.

PRACTICAL POLITICS UNDER GIBSON.

During the next few years the country suffered from a peculiarly degrading kind of despotism. I do not refer to the King's personal immorality, nor to his systematic efforts to debauch and heathenize the natives to further his political ends.

The coalition in power defied public opinion and persistently endeavored to crush out or disarm all opposition, and to turn the Government into a political machine for the perpetuation of their power. For the first time in Hawaiian history faithful officers who held commissions from the Kamehamehas were summarily removed on suspicion of "not being in accord" with the cabinet, and their places generally filled by pliant tools. A marked preference was given to unknown adventurers and defaulters over natives and old residents. Even contracts (for building bridges, for instance) were given to firms in foreign countries.

The various branches of the civil service were made political machines, and even the Board of Education and Government Survey came near being sacrificed to "practical polities." All who would not bow the knee received the honorable sobriquet of "missionaries." The demoralizing effects of this regime, the sycophancy, hypocrisy and venality produced by it have been a curse to the country ever since. The Legislature of 1884 was half composed of office-holders, and wires were skillfully laid to carry the next election. Grog shops were now licensed in the country districts, to serve as rallying points for the

"National party." The Gibsonian papers constantly labored to foment race hatred among the natives and class jealousy among the whites.

Fortunately, one branch of the Government, the Supreme Court, still remained independent and outlived the Gibson regime.

THE ELECTION OF 1886.

The election of 1886 was the most corrupt one ever held in this Kingdom, and the last one held under the old regime. During the canvass the country districts were flooded with cheap gin, chiefly furnished by the King, who paid for it by franking other liquor through the Custom House free of duty, and thereby defrauding the Government of revenue amounting to \$4749.35. (See report of Attorney-General for 1888, and the case of the King *vs.* G. W. Macfarlane, 1888.) Out of twenty-seven Government candidates twenty-three were office-holders, one a last year's tax assessor and one the Queen's secretary. A list of them is appended herewith. There was only one white man on the Government ticket, viz., the premier's son-in-law.

LIST OF GOVERNMENT CANDIDATES FOR THE ELECTION OF 1886
FOR REPRESENTATIVES.

DISTRICT.	NAME.	OFFICE.
HAWAII.		
N. Kona.....	J. K. Nahale.....	Tax Collector.
S. Kona.....	D. H. Nahinu.....	Deputy Sheriff & Tax Collector.

LIST OF GOVERNMENT CANDIDATES FOR THE ELECTION OF 1886
FOR REPRESENTATITES.

DISTRICT.	NAME.	OFFICE.
<i>HAWAII.</i>		
Kau.....	Kaaeamoku	
Puna.....	A. Kekoa.....	Tax Collector.
Hilo.....	Kaulukou	Sheriff.
Hilo.....	A. Pahia	Tax Collector.
Hamakua.....	Kaunamano	Tax Collector.
Kohala.....	Z. Kalai.....	District Judge.
<i>MAUI.</i>		
Lahaina.....	L. Aholo	Police Jt. Judge.
Lahaina.....	Kia Nahaolelua.....	Tax Collector.
Hana.....	S. W. Kaai.....	District Judge.
Makawao.....	J. Kamakele	Tax Collector.
Wailuku.....	G. Richardson	Road Sup'r. and Tax Collector.
Kaanapali.....	J. Kaukau.....	Deputy Sheriff & Tax Collector.
<i>MOLOKAI AND LANAI.</i>		
	Nakaleka	Tax Collector.
	Kupihea.....	District Judge.
<i>OAHU.</i>		
Honolulu.....	F. H. Hayselden	Sec'y Bd. Health & Tax Coll'tr.
Honolulu.....	James Keau.....	Poi Contractor.
Honolulu.....	Lilikalani	Queen's Secretary.
Honolulu.....	J. T. Baker	Capt. King's Guards.
Ewa & Waianae.....	J. P. Kama	District Judge.
Koolauloa.....	Kauahikaua	Tax Collector.
Koolaupoko.....	F. Kaulia.....	District Judge.
Waialua.....	J. Amara.....	Deputy Sheriff & Tax Collector.
<i>KAUAI.</i>		
Hanalei.....	Palohau	Deputy Sheriff & Tax Collector.
Koloa.....	T. Kalaeone.....	
Waimea.....	E. Kauai.....	District Judge.

In order to prevent Pilipo's election, the King proceeded to his district of North Kona, taking with him a number of soldiers and attendants (who voted at the election), besides numerous cases of liquor. He took an active part in the canvass, and succeeded in defeating Pilipo by a small majority. The King's interference with the election nearly provoked a riot, which was averted by Pilipo's strenuous exertions. The matter was investigated by a legislative committee, whose report is on file. Mr. E. Kekoa, the member elected from Puna, was afterwards tried and convicted of gross violations of the election laws, but the House refused to declare his seat vacant.

Only ten Reform candidates were elected, viz.: Messrs. Cecil Brown, W. R. Castle, C. H. Diekey, S. B. Dole, J. Kauhane, A. Kauhi, J. W. Kalua, A. Paehaole, L. A. Thurston and J. Wight.

THE SESSION OF 1886.

The session of 1886 was a long one, and a vacation of two weeks was taken, from July 26 until August 9, to allow the tax collectors in the Legislature to go home and nominally perform the duties of their office. About this time certain creditors to the Government in San Francisco brought pressure to bear upon the Ministry to cede or hypothecate the Honolulu waterworks and part of the wharves to a California company. The pressure became so great that the Ministers opposed to the project were requested by the King to resign, and a new Cabinet was formed June 30, 1886, consisting of

W. M. Gibson, Minister of the Interior; R. J. Creighton, a journalist, lately arrived from California, Minister of Foreign Affairs; J. T. Dare, another recent arrival, Attorney-General; and P. P. Kanoa, Minister of Finance, in place of J. Kapena, who had succumbed to the same failing that had destroyed Simon Kaai.

The two new members of the Cabinet were respectable gentlemen, but soon found themselves in a false position.

THE OPIUM BILL.

An opium-license bill was introduced towards the end of the session by Kaunamano, one of the King's tools, and after a long debate carried over the votes of the Ministry by a bare majority. It provided that a license for four years should be granted to "some one applying therefor" by the Minister of the Interior, with the consent of the King, for \$30,000 per annum. The object of this provision was plainly seen at the time, and its after consequences were destined to be disastrous to its author. Mr. Dole proposed an amendment that the license be sold at public auction at an upset price of \$30,000, which, however, was defeated by a majority of one, only one white man, F. H. Hayselden, voting with the majority.

Another act was passed to create a so-called "Hawaiian Board of Health," consisting of five kahunas, appointed by the King, with power to issue certificates to native kahunas to practice "native medicine."

THE LONDON LOAN.

The King had been convinced that, for the present, he must forego his pet scheme of a ten-million loan. A two-million loan bill, however, was brought in early in the session, with the view of obtaining the money in San Francisco. The subject was dropped for a time, then revived again, and the bill finally passed September 1.

Meanwhile, the idea of obtaining a loan in London was suggested to the King by Mr. A. Hoffnung, of that city, whose firm had carried on the Portuguese immigration. The proposal pleased the King, who considered that creditors at so great a distance would not be likely to trouble themselves much about the internal politics of this little Kingdom. Mr. H. R. Armstrong, of the firm of Skinner & Co., London, visited Honolulu to further the project, which was engineered by Mr. G. W. Macfarlane in the Legislature.

Two parties were now developed in that body, viz., the Spreckels' party, led by the Ministry, and the King's party, which favored the London loan. The small knot of independent members held the balance of power.

The two contending parties brought in two sets of conflicting amendments to the loan act, of which it is not necessary to give the details. As Kaulukou put it, "the amendment of the Attorney-General provides that if they want to borrow any money they must pay up Mr. Spreckels first. He understood that the Government owed Mr. Spreckels \$600,000 or

\$700,000. He has lent them money in the past, and were they prepared to say to him, 'We have found new friends in England'—to give him a slap in the face?"

On the other side, Mr. J. T. Baker "was tired of hearing a certain gentleman spoken of as a second King. As this amendment was in the interest of that gentleman he voted against it." Allusions were also made to the reports that the waterworks were going to be pledged to him. When the decisive moment arrived; the independents cast their votes with the King's party, defeating the ministry by 23 votes to 14. The result was that the cabinet resigned that night, after which Gibson went on his knees to the King and begged to be reappointed.

The next morning, October 14, to the surprise of every one and to the disgust of his late allies, Gibson reappeared in the house as premier, with three native colleagues, viz., Aholo, Kanoa and Kaulukou. But from this time on he had no real power, as he had neither moral nor financial backing. The helm of state had slipped from his hands. Mr. Spreckels called on the King, returned all his decorations, and shook off the dust from his feet. The Legislature appropriated \$100,000 for a gunboat and \$15,000 to celebrate the King's fiftieth birthday.

In this brief sketch it is impossible to give any idea of the utter want of honor and decency that characterized the proceedings of the Legislature of 1886.

The appropriation bill footed up \$3,856,755.50, while the estimated receipts were \$2,336,870.42.

THE SEQUEL OF THE LONDON LOAN.

From the report of the Minister of Finance for 1888 we learn that Mr. H. R. Armstrong, who had come to Honolulu as the agent of the London syndicate, was appointed agent of the Hawaiian Government to float the loan. He was also appointed Hawaiian Consul-General for Great Britain, while Mr. A. Hoffnung, previously referred to, was made Charge d'Affaires.

In the same report we find that the amount borrowed under the loan act of 1886 in Honolulu was \$771,800 and in London \$980,000. Of the former amount \$630,000 was used to extinguish the debt owed to Col. Spreckels. By the terms of the loan act the London syndicate was entitled to 5 per cent. of the proceeds of the bonds which they disposed of, as their commission for guaranteeing them at 98 per cent. But it appears that in addition to this amount £15,000, or about \$75,000, was illegally detained by them and has never been accounted for. The Legislature of 1888 appropriated the sum of \$5,000 to defray the expenses of a lawsuit against the financial agents, to recover the \$75,000 thus fraudulently retained. The matter was placed in the hands of Col. J. T. Griffin, who advised the Government that it was not expedient to prosecute the case. The \$75,000 has therefore been entered on the books of the treasury department as a dead loss. Since then Mr. H. R. Armstrong's name has ceased to appear in the Government directory among those of the Consuls-General.

ROYAL MISRULE.

As before stated, the King now acted as his own prime minister, employing Gibson to execute his schemes and defend his follies. For the next eight months he rapidly went from bad to worse. After remaining one month in the cabinet Mr. Kalulukou was transferred to the Marshal's office, while Mr. Antone Rosa was appointed Attorney-General in his place and J. M. Kapena made Collector-General. The limits of this brief sketch forbid any attempt to recount the political grievances of this period. Among the lesser scandals were the sale of offices, the defrauding of the customs revenue by abuse of the royal privilege, the illegal leasing of lands in Kona and Kau to the King without putting them up to auction, the sale of exemptions to lepers, the gross neglect of the roads, and misapplication of road money, particularly of the Queen street appropriation.

Efforts to revive heathenism were now redoubled under the pretense of cultivating "national" feeling. Kahunas were assembled from the other islands as the King's birthday approached, and "night was made hideous" with the sound of the hula drum and the blowing of conchs in the palace yard. A foreign fortune teller by the name of Rosenberg acquired great influence with the King.

THE HALE NAUA, ALIAS TEMPLE OF SCIENCE, ALIAS BALL OF TWINE SOCIETY.

This was founded September 24, 1886. A charter for it was obtained by the King from the Privy Council, not without

difficulty, on account of the suspicion that was felt in regard to its character and objects. According to its constitution it was founded forty quadrillions of years after the foundation of the world, and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty years from Lailai, the first woman.

Its by-laws are a travesty of Masonry, mingled with pagansites. The Sovereign is styled Iku Hai; the secretary, Iku Lani; the treasurer, Iku Nuu. Besides these were the keeper of the sacred fire, the anointer with oil, the almoner, etc. Every candidate had to provide an "oracle," a kauwila wand, a ball of olona twine, a dried fish, a taro root, etc. Every member or "mamo" was invested with a yellow malo or pau (apron) and a feather cape. The furniture of the hall comprised three drums, two kahilis or feathered staffs, and two puloulous or tabu sticks.

So far as the secret proceedings and objects of the society have transpired, it appears to have been intended partly as an agency for the revival of heathenism, partly to pander to vice, and indirectly to serve as a political machine. Enough leaked out to intensify the general disgust that was felt at the debasing influence of the palace.

KALAKAUA'S JUBILEE.

The sum of \$15,000 had been appropriated by the Legislature of 1886 towards the expenses of the celebration of His Majesty's fiftieth birthday, which occurred November 16, 1886.

Extensive preparations were made to celebrate this memorable occasion, and all office holders were given to understand that every one of them was expected to "hookupu" or make a present corresponding to his station. At midnight preceding the auspicious day a salute was fired and bonfires were lighted on Punchbowl Hill, rockets were sent up, and all the bells in the city set ringing.

The reception began at 6 a. m. Premier Gibson had already presented the King with a pair of elephant tusks mounted on a koa stand with the inscription: "The horns of the righteous shall be exalted." The Honolulu police marched in and presented the King with a book on a velvet cushion containing a bank check for \$570. The Government physicians, headed by F. H. Hayselden, Secretary of the Board of Health, presented a silver box containing \$1,000 in twenty dollar gold pieces. The Custom House clerks offered a costly gold-headed cane. All officials paid tribute in some shape. Several native benevolent societies marched in procession, for the most part bearing koa calabashes. The school children, the fishermen and many other natives marched through the throne room, dropping their contributions into a box. It is estimated that the presents amounted in value to \$8,000 or \$10,000.

In consequence of the Hale Naua scandal scarcely any white ladies were seen at this reception. In the evening the Palace was illuminated with electric lights, and a torchlight parade of the Fire Department took place, followed by fireworks at the Palace.

On the 20th, the public were amused by a so-called historical procession, consisting chiefly of canoes and boats carried on drays, containing natives in ancient costume, personating warriors and fishermen, mermaids draped with sea moss, hula dancers, etc., which passed through the streets to the Palace. Here the notorious Hale Naua or "Kilokilo" society had mustered, wearing yellow *malos* and *paus* or aprons over their clothes, and marched around the Palace, over which the yellow flag of their order was flying.

On the 23d a luan or native feast was served in an extensive lanai or shed in the Palace grounds, where 1500 people are said to have been entertained. This was followed by a jubilee ball in the Palace on the 25th. The series of entertainments was closed by the exhibition of a set of "historical tableaux" of the olden time at the Opera House, concluding with a hulahula dance, which gave offense to most of the audience. No programme was published this time of the nightly hulahulas performed at the Palace.

THE SAMOAN EMBASSY.

In pursuance of the policy announced in Gibson's famous protest to the other great powers, and in order to advance Hawaii's claim to the "primacy of the Pacific," Hon. J. E. Bush was commissioned on the 23d of December, 1886, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Samoa and the King of Tonga, and High Commissioner to

the other independent chiefs and peoples of Polynesia. He was accompanied by Mr. H. Poor, as Secretary of Legation, and J. D. Strong, as artist and collector for the Government museum. They arrived at Apia, January 3d, 1887, and were cordially received by King Malietoa on the 7th, when they drank kava with him and presented him with the Grand Cross of the Order of Oceania. Afterwards, at a more private interview, Bush intimated to Malietoa that he might expect a salary of \$5,000 or \$6,000 under a Hawaiian protectorate. A house was built for the Legation at the expense of the Hawaiian Government.

A convention was concluded February 17th, between King Malietoa and the Hawaiian Envoy, by which both parties bound themselves "to enter into a political confederation," which was duly ratified by Kalakaua and Gibson, "subject to the existing treaty obligations of Samoa," March 20th, 1887.

"The signature was celebrated," says Robert Louis Stevenson, "in the new house of the Hawaiian Embassy with some original ceremonies. Malietoa came attended by his ministers, several hundred chiefs (Bush says 60), two guards and six policemen. Laupepa (Malietoa), always decent, withdrew at an early hour; by those that remained all decency appears to have been forgotten, and day found the house carpeted with slumbering grandees, who had to be roused, doctored with coffee and sent home. * * * Laupepa remarked to one of the Embassy, 'If you come here to teach my people to drink, I wish you had stayed away.'" The rebuke was without effect,

for still worse stories are told of the drunken orgies that afterwards disgraced the Hawaiian Embassy.

THE KAIMILOA.

About this time Mr. J. T. Arundel, an Englishman, engaged in the copra trade, visited Honolulu in his steamer, the *Explorer*, a vessel of 170 tons, which had been employed in plying between his trading stations. The King who was impatient to start his new navy, to maintain "Hawaiian primacy," had put the Reformatory School under the charge of Captain G. E. Jackson, a retired navigating lieutenant in the British navy, with the view of turning that institution into a naval training school. The old *Explorer* was purchased for \$20,000, and renamed the *Kaimiloa*. She was then altered and fitted out as a man-of-war at an expense of about \$50,000, put into commission March 28th, and placed under the command of Captain Jackson. The crew was mainly composed of boys from the Reformatory School, whose conduct, as well as that of their officers, was disgraceful in the extreme.

The *Kaimiloa* sailed for Samoa, May 18th, 1887. On the preceding evening a drunken row had taken place on board, for which three of the officers were summarily dismissed. The after history of the expedition was in keeping with its beginning. As Stevenson relates: "The *Kaimiloa* was from the first a scene of disaster and dilapidation, the stores were sold; the crew revolted; for a great part of a night she was in the

hands of mutineers, and the Secretary lay bound upon the deck."

On one occasion the *Kaimiloa* was employed to carry the Hawaiian Embassy to Atua, for a conference with Mataafa, who had remained neutral, but she was followed and watched by the German corvette *Adler*. "Mataafa was no sooner set down with the Embassy than he was summoned and ordered on board by two German officers."

Another well-laid plan to detach the rebel leader, Tamasese, from his German "protectors" was foiled by the vigilance of Captain Brandeis. At length Bismarek himself was incensed, and caused a warning to be sent from Washington to Gibson, in consequence of which Minister Bush was recalled July 7th, 1887. Mr. Poor was instructed to dispose of the Legation property as soon as possible, and to send home the attaches, the Government curios, etc., by the *Kaimiloa*, which arrived in Honolulu, September 23d. She was promptly dismantled, and afterwards sold at auction, bringing the paltry sum of \$2,800. Her new owners found her a failure as an inter-island steamer, and she is now laid up in the "naval row."

THE AKI CASE OR OPIUM SCANDAL.

The facts of this case were stated in the affidavit of Aki, published May 31st, 1887, and those of Wong Leong, J. S. Walker and Nahora Hipa, published June 28th, 1887, as well as in the decision of Judge Preston in the case of Loo Ngawk

et al., executors of the will of T. Aki *vs.* A. J. Cartwright *et al.*, trustees of the King (Haw. Rep., Vol. vii., p 401).

I have already spoken of the opium license law, which was carried by the royalist party in the Legislature of 1886, and signed by the King in spite of the vigorous protests from all classes of the community. As this law had been saddled with amendments, which rendered it nearly unworkable, a set of regulations was published October 15th, 1886, providing for the issue of permits to purchase or use opium by the Marshal, who was to retain half the fee and the Government the other half.

The main facts of the case, as proved before the court, are as follows: Early in November, 1886, one, Junins Kaae, a palace parasite, informed a Chinese rice-planter named Tong Kee, alias Aki, that he could have the opium license granted to him if he would pay the sum of \$60,000 to the King's private purse, but that he must be in haste because other parties were bidding for the privilege. With some difficulty Aki raised the money, and secretly paid it to Kaae and the King in three instalments between December 3d and December 8th, 1886. Soon afterwards Kaae called on Aki and informed him that one, Kwong Sam Kee, had offered the King \$75,000 for the license, and would certainly get it, unless Aki paid \$15,000 more. Accordingly Aki borrowed the amount and gave it to the King personally on the 11th.

Shortly after this another Chinese syndicate, headed by Chung Lung, paid the King \$80,000 for the same object, but

took the precaution to secure the license before handing over the money. Thereupon Aki, finding that he had lost both his money and his license, divulged the whole affair, which was published in the Honolulu papers. He stopped the payment of a note at the bank for \$4,000, making his loss \$71,000. Meanwhile Junius Kaae was appointed to the responsible office of Registrar of Conveyances, which had become vacant by the death of the lamented Thomas Brown.

As was afterwards ascertained, the King had ordered a \$100,000 gunboat from England, through Mr. G. W. Macfarlane, but the negotiations for it were broken off by the revolution.

On the 12th of April, 1887, Queen Kapiolani and the Princess Liliuokalani, accompanied by Messrs. C. P. Iaukea, J. H. Boyd, and J. O. Dominis, left for England to attend the celebration of the jubilee held upon the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. They returned on the 26th of July, 1887.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1887.

The exposure of the two opium bribes and the appointment of the King's accomplice in the crime as Registrar of Conveyances helped to bring matters to a crisis, and united nearly all tax-payers not merely against the King but against the system of government under which such iniquities could be perpetrated.

In the spring of 1887, a secret league had been formed in Honolulu, with branches on the other islands, for the purpose of putting an end to the prevailing misrule and extravagance, and of establishing a civilized government, responsible to the people through their representatives. Arms were imported, and rifle clubs sprang up all over the islands. In Honolulu a volunteer organization, known as the "Rifles," was increased in numbers, and brought to a high state of efficiency under the command of Col. V. V. Ashford. It is supposed that the league now numbered from 800 to 1,000 men, while its objects had the sympathy of the great majority of the community. It was at first expected that monarchy would then be abolished, and a republican constitution was drawn up.

As the time for action approached, the resident citizens of the United States, Great Britain and Germany addressed memorials to their respective governments, through their representatives, declaring the condition of affairs to be intolerable. As is the case in all such movements, the league was composed of average men, actuated by a variety of motives, but all agreed in their main object. Fortunately, the "spoils wing" of the party failed eventually to capture either branch of the Government, upon which a number of them joined the old Gibsonian party and became bitter enemies of reform.

Some members of the league, including Col. Ashford, were in favor of a sudden attack upon the Palace, but this advice was overruled, and it was decided to first hold a public mass meeting, to state their grievances, and to present specific de-

M. J. SILVA Sergt

G. B. RIPLEY Sergt

C. H. LUTHER Sergt

G. P. CASTLE Sergt

B. E. DILLINGHAM Sergt

D. C. B. WOOD Sergt

F. M. STOCKER Captain Commandant

GEO STRATEMEYER Ord

ARTHUR REYNOLDS.

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mands to the King. Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 30th of June, 1887, all business in Honolulu was suspended, and an immense meeting was held in the armory, on Beretania street, composed of all classes, creeds, and nationalities, but united in sentiment as never before or since. The meeting was guarded by a battalion of the Rifles fully armed. A set of resolutions was passed unanimously, declaring that the Government had "ceased through incompetency and corruption to perform the functions and to afford the protection to personal and property rights for which all governments exist," and demanding of the King the dismissal of his cabinet, the restitution of the \$71,000 received as a bribe from Aki, the dismissal of Junius Kaae from the land office, and a pledge that the King would no longer interfere in politics.

A committee of thirteen was sent to wait on His Majesty with these demands. His troops had mostly deserted him, and the native populace seemed quite indifferent to his fate. He called in the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Portugal, to whom he offered to transfer his powers as King. This they refused, but advised him to lose no time in forming a new cabinet and signing a new constitution. Accordingly he sent a written reply the next day, which virtually conceded every point demanded. The new cabinet, consisting of Godfrey Brown, Minister of Foreign Affairs; L. A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior; W. L. Green, Minister of Finance; and C. W. Ashford, Attorney-General, was sworn in on the same day, July 1st, 1887.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1887.

As the King had yielded, the republican constitution was dropped, and the constitution of 1864 revised in such a way as to secure two principal objects, viz., to put an end to autocratic rule by making the Ministers responsible only to the people through the Legislature and to widen the suffrage by extending it to foreigners, who till then had been practically debarred from naturalization. I have given the details in another paper.

Mr. Gibson was arrested July 1st, but was allowed to leave on the 5th by a sailing vessel for San Francisco. Threats of lynching had been made by some young hot heads, but fortunately no acts of violence or revenge tarnished the revolution of 1887.

An election for members of the Legislature was ordered to be held September 12th, and regulations were issued by the new ministry, which did away with many abuses, and secured the fairest election that had been held in the islands for twenty years. The result was an overwhelming victory for the Reform party, which was a virtual ratification of the new constitution. During the next three years, in spite of the bitter hostility and intrigues of the King, the continual agitation by demagogues, and repeated conspiracies, the country prospered under the most efficient administration that it had ever known.

FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE AKI CASE.

It has been seen that on the 30th of June, 1887, Kalakaua promised in writing that he would "cause restitution to be made" of the \$71,000 which he had obtained from Aki, under a promise that he (Aki) should receive the license to sell opium, as provided by the Act of 1886.

The Reform cabinet urged the King to settle this claim before the meeting of the Legislature, and it was arranged that the revenues from the Crown lands should be appropriated to that object. When, however, they ascertained that his debts amounted to more than \$250,000 they advised the King to make an assignment in trust for the payment of all claims *pro rata*. Accordingly, a trust deed was executed November 21, 1887, assigning all the Crown land revenues and most of the King's private estate to three trustees for the said purpose, on condition that the complainant would bring no petition or bills before the Legislature, then in session.

Some three months later these trustees refused to approve or pay the Aki claim, on which Aki's executors brought suit against them in the Supreme Court.

After a full hearing of the evidence, Judge Preston decided that the plea of the defendants that the transaction between Aki and the King was illegal could not be entertained, as by the constitution the King "could do no wrong," and "could not be sued or held to account in any court of the Kingdom." Furthermore, as the claimants had agreed to forbear present-

ing their claim before the Legislature in consideration of the execution of the trust deed, the full court ordered their claim to be paid *pro rata* with the other approved claims.

CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF THE SKETCH OF HAWAIIAN POLITICS.—THE ROYAL VETO QUESTION.

The preceding narrative ended with the revolution of 1887, which was intended to put an end to personal rule in the Hawaiian Islands, by making the ministry responsible to the people through the legislature, by taking the power of appointing the Upper House out of the hands of the Sovereign, and by making office-holders ineligible to the legislature.

The remaining three years and a half of Kalakaua's reign teemed with intrigues and conspiracies to restore autocratic rule. The Reform party, as has been stated, gained an overwhelming majority of seats in the legislature of 1887, and had full control of the government until the legislative session of 1890.

During the special session, held in November, 1887, a contest arose between the King and the legislature in regard to the veto power, which at one time threatened the public peace. The question whether under the new constitution the King could

NOTE:—The statement furnished Col. Blount ends with the preceding Chapter.
The story will now be continued to the end of the year 1893.



J. H. MANZ
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EX QUEEN LILIUOKALANI.



exercise a personal veto against the advice of his ministers or not, was finally decided by the Supreme Court in favor of the Crown, Judge Dole dissenting.

During the succeeding session of 1888 the King vetoed a number of bills, which were all passed over his veto, by a two-thirds vote, with the exception of a bill to subsidize an experimental coffee plantation.

CONSPIRACIES.

The King's sister, the then Princess Liliuokalani, on her return from England, had charged her brother with cowardice, for signing the constitution of 1887, and was known to be in favor of the old system of irresponsible personal government. For instruments she had not far to seek. Two of the Hawaiian youths whom Moreno had placed in military school in Italy, as before stated, had been recalled towards the end of 1887.

They had been led to expect high positions from the Gibson government, and their disappointment was extreme, when their claims were ignored. Hence they were easily induced to lead a conspiracy, which had for its object the abrogation of the constitution of 1887, and the restoration of the old regime.

They endeavored to form a secret league, and held meetings to inflame the native mind, but without much success at first.

It is said that the Household Troops were won over, and that the three chief conspirators, on one occasion, detained the King in one of the tower rooms in the Palace, and tried to intimidate him into signing his abdication in favor of his sister.

The King parleyed with them to gain time, and the affair soon came to the ears of the ministry, who had the conspirators examined, one by one, and their statements taken down. A mass of evidence was collected, which, however, was not used against them; and the leader, Mr. R. W. Wilcox, was allowed to go to California; where he remained about a year, biding his time.

Meanwhile, a secret organization was being formed throughout the islands, and after some progress had been made, Mr. Wilcox was sent for. He returned to Honolulu in April, 1889, formed a rifle club, and began to make preparations for a counter revolution.

The meetings of the league were held in a house belonging to the Princess Liliuokalani. At the subsequent trial it was proved by the defense that the King had latterly come to an understanding with the conspirators, whose object was to restore autocratic rule.

Before light, on the morning of July 30th, 1889, Mr. Wilcox with about one hundred and fifty armed followers marched from the Princess Liliuokalani's residence in Kapalama and occupied the Government buildings and the palace grounds. No declaration of any kind was made, as they expected the

King, who had spent the night at a cottage near the seaside, to come up and proclaim the old constitution of 1864. The Household troops in the barracks remained neutral, and the palace was held against the insurgents by Lieut. Robert Parker, with thirty men by the King's orders. The King, who did not fully trust the conspirators, retired to his boat-house in the harbor to await results. Meanwhile the volunteer riflemen promptly turned out, and many other citizens took up arms for the Government. Patrols were set about day-light, and a cordon formed later on, so that the insurgents were isolated from the populace outside. At the request of the United States Minister, Mr. Merrill, a body of marines was landed and marched up to the Legation, on the hotel premises, where they remained during the day. The insurgents brought over four field-pieces and ammunition from the barracks, and placed them around the palace.

The Ministry drew up a written summons to them to surrender, which was served on them at the front palace gate, by the Hon. S. M. Damon, but they refused to receive it. A conflict immediately commenced between them with three of their field-pieces and the Government sharpshooters, who had occupied the Opera House and some other buildings commanding the palace grounds. The result was that their guns were soon silenced, and they were driven with loss into a wooden building in the palace grounds, called the "Bungalow," where they were besieged during the afternoon. Towards night a heavy rifle fire was opened upon them from all sides,

and the roof of the "Bungalow" burst in by giant-powder bombs, which forced them to surrender.

Unfortunately, this was by no means a bloodless affair, as seven of Wilcox's deluded followers were killed and about a dozen wounded. It was afterwards learned that 10,000 rounds of ammunition had been loaned by the U. S. S. *Adams* during the day to the Hawaiian Government.

The chief conspirators were afterwards put on trial for treason, with the result that Loomens, a Belgian artillery-man, was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for life, while Mr. R. W. Wilcox was acquitted by a native jury, on the theory that what he had done was by and with the King's consent. He now became a popular idol, and had unbounded influence over the Honolulu natives for a time. The Princess Liliuokalani, however, disowned him, and denied all knowledge of the conspiracy. This deplorable affair was made the most of by demagogues to intensify race hatred. The license allowed the native press was almost incredible.

THE PROPOSED COMMERCIAL TREATY.

A project of a new commercial treaty with the United States was drawn up in the fall of 1889 by the Ministry in conjunction with Hon. H. A. P. Carter. Its terms provided for complete free trade between the two countries, the perpetual cession of Pearl Harbor to the United States, and a guarantee of the independence of the Kingdom by that power. In con-

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LIMITED.

Incorporated under the laws of
the Hawaiian Islands.

OFFICERS

W.M. G. IRWIN

President.

ALEX. YOUNG

Vice Pres.

GODFREY BROWN

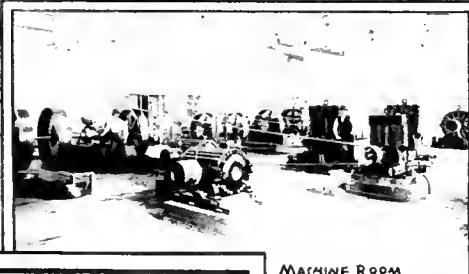
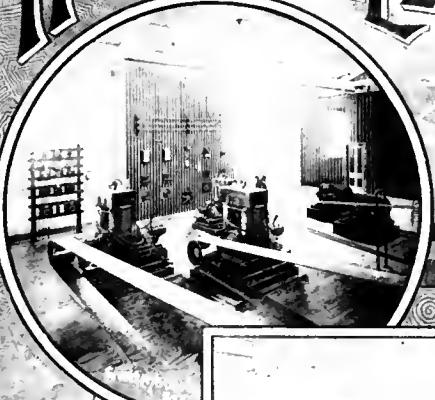
Treasurer.

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Secretary.

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sideration of this guarantee, the Hawaiian Government was to bind itself to make no treaty with any foreign power without the knowledge of the Government of the United States.

By working on the King's suspicions, Mr. C. W. Ashford, the Attorney-General, induced the King to refuse to sign the preliminary draft of this treaty. The other members of the Cabinet invited him to resign, which he declined to do.

The question having been brought before the Supreme Court, it decided that the King under the Constitution was bound by the advice of a majority of his Cabinet. But the Attorney-General advised the King that this was only an *ex parte* decision, and encouraged him to defy the court. A copy of the proposed treaty, (including an article which had been rejected by the Cabinet, and which would have authorized the landing of United States troops in certain emergencies), was secretly furnished by the King to a native newspaper for publication, and the party cry was raised that the ministry was "selling the country" to the United States.

THE SESSION OF 1890.

On account of the circumstances mentioned above, and of dissensions in the Reform party, the combined elements in opposition elected a majority of the Legislature of 1890, and on the 13th of June, 1890, the Reform ministry went out of office on a close vote.

As the parties were so nearly balanced, a compromise cabinet, composed of conservative men, was appointed June 17th, viz., Hons. John A. Cummins, Minister of Foreign Affairs; C. N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior; Godfrey Brown, Minister of Finance; A. P. Peterson, Attorney-General.

The King at first tried to revive his old project of a ten-million loan bill for military and naval purposes, but met with no encouragement. He then published a pamphlet entitled "A Third Warning Voice," in which he urged the establishment of a large standing army.

Another project advocated by the reactionary papers and favored by the King, was that of calling a revolutionary convention, to be elected by the voters of the lower house, to frame a new constitution, in which the foreign element should be excluded from political power. With considerable difficulty, and by the exercise of much patience and tact, this dangerous measure was defeated, and certain constitutional amendments were passed through the preliminary stage. The most important of these was one lowering the property qualification required of electors for nobles. After a stormy session of five months, the Legislature adjourned Nov. 14th, 1890, without undoing the reforms made in 1887.

ACCESSION OF LILIUOKALANI.

In order to recruit his failing health, the King visited California in the United States cruiser *Charleston*, as the

guest of Admiral Brown, in November, 1890. He received the utmost kindness and hospitality, both in San Franeiseo and in Southern California. His strength, however, continued to fail in spite of the best medical attendance, and on the 20th of January, 1891, he breathed his last at the Palace Hotel in San Franeiseo. His remains were removed to the *Charleston* with impressive funeral ceremonies, and arrived at Honolulu January 29th, where the decorations for his welcome were changed into the emblems of mourning.

In spite of his grave faults as a ruler and as a man, he had been uniformly kind and courteous in private life, and there was sincere grief in Honolulu, when the news of his death arrived.

Serious apprehensions were now felt by many in view of the accession of his sister, Liliuokalani, which, however, were partially relieved by her promptly taking the oath, to maintain the constitution of 1887. Notwithstanding her despotic ideal of government, and her past record, there were not a few who hoped that she had enough good sense to understand her true interests, and to keep her oath to the constitution. They were destined to be disappointed. On the morning of her accession, Mr. S. M. Damon had an interview with her, in which he remarked that what was needed was a *responsible* ministry. "My ministry," she replied, "shall be *responsible to me*," and abruptly closed the interview. She had no sooner taken the oath, than a constitutional question was raised between her and the existing cabinet. On the one side,

the cabinet claimed that under the constitution no power could remove them but the Legislature. On her side it was claimed that they were the late King's cabinet, and "died with the King." This dispute was referred to the Supreme Court, which decided in favor of the Queen, Judge McCully dissenting. This gave her an opportunity to exact conditions from the incoming ministers, and thus to secure control of the patronage of the Government.

The new cabinet appointed February 26th, 1891, consisted of Hons. S. Parker, Minister of Foreign Affairs; C. N. Spencer, reappointed Minister of the Interior; H. A. Widemann, minister of Finance; and W. A. Whiting, Attorney-General. The first condition exacted by the Queen of her appointees was that Mr. C. B. Wilson should be appointed Marshal of the Kingdom, with control of the entire police force of the islands. It was universally believed that he exercised as much influence on the administration of public affairs as any member of the cabinet. At the same time, grave charges were made against the administration of his own bureau. The Marshal's office was said to be the resort of disreputable characters, while opium joints and gambling dens multiplied and flourished. The Marshal openly associated with such adventurers as Capt. Whaley, of the famous smuggling yacht *Halcyon*, and the Australian fugitives from justice, who visited Honolulu in the yacht *Beagle*.

To put an end to this state of things, and to other evils growing out of personal government, was one of the chief



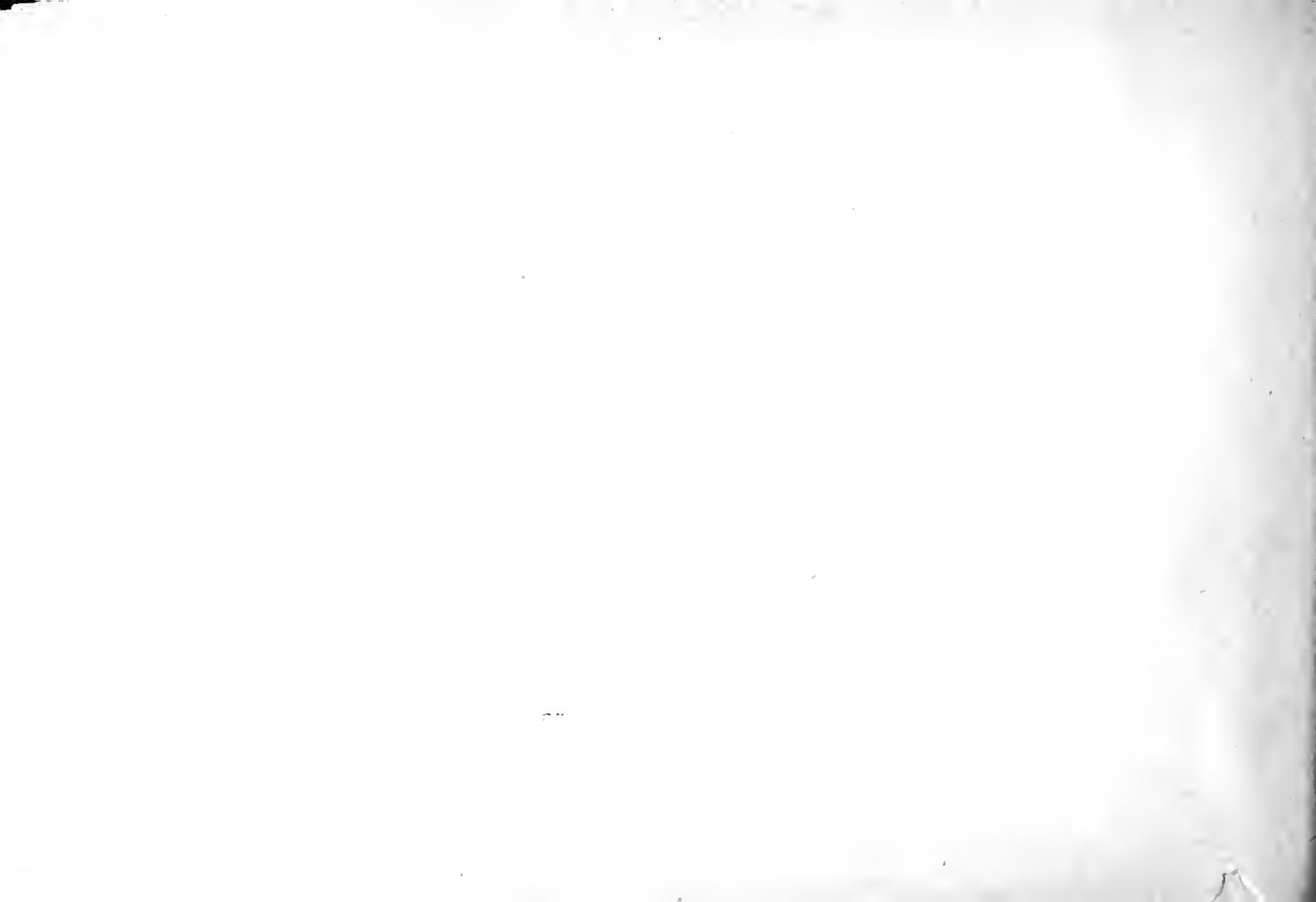
C. W. ASHFORD.

JOHN RICHARDSON.

J. E. BUSH.

J. NAWAHI.

R. W. WILCOX.



objects, both of members of the Reform party and of the so-called Liberals in the elections of 1892. The death of Gov. J. O. Dominis, Aug. 27th, 1891, was a misfortune to the Kingdom, as his influence had always been exerted in favor of constitutional government.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE.

In the spring of 1892, a secret league was formed, headed by Col. V. V. Ashford, R. W. Wilcox, J. E. Bush and others, for the purpose, as they claimed, of "promoting justice and equal rights in the political government of Hawaii." Their objects included the removal of all property qualifications for election of either house, the abolition of monarchy, and ultimate union with the United States. These measures were then advocated in a newspaper published by J. E. Bush, who afterwards became a royalist. It is stated that this league, about May 1st, numbered over three hundred members, mostly natives and half-whites. There is good reason to believe that at the same time the Queen's party was preparing to promulgate a despotic constitution similar to that which she afterwards attempted to proclaim Jan. 14th, 1893. At first they endeavored to make use of the equal rights league, both parties being opposed for different reasons, to the Reform constitution. Their overtures, however, having been finally rejected, the marshal proceeded on the 20th of May to arrest the principal members of the league for treason and conspiracy. The result

of the subsequent trials was that all were finally discharged, but the weakness of the league was exposed, and its leaders lost much of their prestige. This revolutionary movement had not been favored by the better class of citizens, who considered it uncalled for, and who had no confidence in its leaders, most of whom are now extreme royalists. Their dream seems to have been one of an unlimited democracy in which they should hold the offices.

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1892.

For the purpose of this sketch it is not worth while to give the details of the eight-months' Legislative session of 1892. During the greater part of the session the leaders of the liberal party combined with the reform party, (which lacked a few votes of a majority), to break the power of the palace party, allied as it was, with the powerful opium and lottery rings. Three cabinets in succession were voted out, because they were considered to represent these latter elements, and to be in favor of retaining the marshal.

The lottery bill was introduced into the Legislature Aug. 30, 1892. A secret canvass had previously been made before any discussion of the measure had taken place, and many unthinkingly signed petitions in its favor, who afterwards regretted the act. As soon as the bill was printed, a powerful opposition sprang up against it, and it was shelved, as was supposed, forever.

A bill providing for a Constitutional convention had been killed early in the session. After a struggle of four months the Queen temporarily yielded, and appointed a cabinet composed of conservative men of high character, who possessed the confidence of the country ; viz., Hons. Geo. Wilcox, Minister of the Interior ; Mark Robinson, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; P. C. Jones, Minister of Finance ; and Cecil Brown, Attorney-General. This cabinet distinctly declared its policy in regard to the lottery bill, as well as to "flat" paper money and other subjects, but did not choose to act on the "burning question" of the marshalship while the Legislature was in session. Its course on this point, and the fact that the liberal party was not represented in it, so exasperated the leaders of that party that they joined hands with the lottery ring and voted for measures which they had previously denounced on the floor of the house. Near the end of the session, in the absence of six of its opponents, the lottery bill was suddenly brought up, rushed through and passed, to the surprise and horror of the community, undoubtedly by lavish bribery, only one white man voting for it. By the same voters an opium license bill was passed, and the Wilcox ministry was voted out January 12th, two days before the close of the session.

The Queen, by whose personal exertions the last measure had been carried, immediately appointed a new cabinet, three of whom had been members of former rejected cabinets, the fourth being the reputed agent of the lottery ring in pur-

chasing Legislative votes. The liberal party leaders were ignored. The cabinet now consisted of Hons. S. Parker, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; W. Cornwell, Minister of Finance ; Arthur P. Peterson, Attorney-General ; and John Colburn, Minister of the Interior. The lottery and opium license bills were signed without further delay.

The public indignation was intense, but no revolutionary action was yet thought of. The attempted *coup d'état*, which was sprung upon the country the next day, took the community by surprise, and found it entirely unprepared. There is reason, however, to believe that the plot had been deeply laid long before, to be executed at the close of the Legislative session.

From Liliuokalani's own published statement to Col. Blount, it appears that she drafted a new Constitution in the early part of the year 1892, and in the following October placed it for revision in the hands of A. P. Peterson, who kept it for a month. A week before the close of the session, she asked him to draft a preamble for it. She had also received assurances of support from Messrs. Parker and Cornwell.

The lottery was expected by the Queen to be a source of revenue, which would render her less dependent on loans. It was also expected that the lottery company, being outlawed in the United States, could be relied upon to oppose any movement looking towards annexation.

The passage of that bill, the removal of an upright ministry, and the unsuccessful *coup d'état* of the 14th of January,



CECIL BROWN,
MARK P. ROBINSON.

P. C. JONES.
G. N. WILCOX.



were evidently all parts of one plan to destroy honest constitutional Government in Hawaii.

The story of the revolution which followed will form the subject of a separate paper.

CHAPTER III.

THE ATTEMPTED COUP D'ETAT OF 1893, AND THE COUNTER REVOLUTION.

The closing acts of the Legislature of 1892, narrated in the last chapter had been entirely unexpected by the community of Honolulu. The general feeling of indignation was intense, but there was no thought of any revolutionary action, or of any opposition to the existing Government except within the limits of the Constitution.

The U. S. cruiser *Boston*, Captain Wiltse, had sailed for Hilo, with the U. S. Minister, J. L. Stevens, as a passenger, on the fourth of January, 1893, and was absent from Honolulu ten days. Having left the city in apparent tranquillity, Minister Stevens returned about 10 o'clock on the morning of the fourteenth, to find himself unexpectedly in the midst of a revolution.

The events of that day occurred in such rapid succession, attended by such intense excitement, that it is difficult now

to ascertain exactly what took place, or to arrange the details in their proper order.

WARNINGS.

Although the community in general was entirely in the dark as to the intention of the Queen to proclaim a new Constitution, a few persons had received intimations of the fact.

From the Queen's written statement, fully corroborated by other evidence, it is certain that all the members of her last Cabinet had accepted office with the understanding that they should sign her new Constitution and assist in its promulgation. Mr. C. B. Wilson, who was the Marshal, has stated that she discussed the project with him on the 8th of January, and again on the 13th, in connection with the appointment of the new Cabinet, and that on both occasions he opposed it, denying "its suitability and feasibility at the time." On the 10th Mr. Marcus Colburn sent a warning to the Wilcox-Jones Ministry, through Mr. Henry Waterhouse, stating that the Queen intended to promulgate a new Constitution, and that in case she was not able to get the Wilcox Ministry voted out, her plan was, after the prorogation of the Legislature, to invite the four Ministers over to the palace and to lay before them the new Constitution which she had prepared, and that if they refused to sign it, they were to be made prisoners.

An unsigned letter, written the next day, undoubtedly by John Colburn, and addressed to Mr. P. C. Jones, contains the following passage: "If you don't get out of office, and a new Constitution is shored on this country by the Queen, you four men and your hypocritical supporters will be to blame for it, etc."

At a caucus of the Queen's party, held on Friday night, the 13th, one of the members, John Kaluna by name, said that if he could establish the new Constitution, he would die happy, provided he could kill a few white men before dying.

Between 10 and 11 o'clock A. M. of the 14th, Mr. John Colburn called at the office of Mr. A. S. Hartwell, informed him that the Queen was determined to proclaim a new Constitution that very afternoon, and asked his advice. At his request Mr. Hartwell called in Messrs. L. A. Thurston and W. O. Smith, who strongly advised him and his colleagues to see the Queen immediately, and tell her that the Constitution must not be promulgated, and that if she persisted in her design, it would be the death-warrant of the Monarchy; to refuse to countersign the new Constitution, and to decline to resign if their resignations should be demanded; if the Queen persisted in her attempt, to declare her to be in revolution against the Government, and to call upon the people for support against her; assuring them of the united support of the community if this course were followed. Mr. Colburn then hurried back to see the Queen, but failed to see her before the ceremony of prorogation.

At the same time Mr. W. O. Smith called at the Chamber of Commerce, (which had met to consider a memorial on the lottery bill), and informed the merchants present of the impending crisis. The facts were also communicated to Captain Wiltse, of the *Boston*, who simply said that he was here for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens, and that he would do it if called upon. Mr. Hartwell promptly laid the matter before Minister Stevens, who had just landed from the *Boston*. At his suggestion, Minister Stevens sought the co-operation of the British Commissioner, Major Wodehouse, and they two went together to the Foreign Office to seek an interview with the Queen. They were, however, too late, the ceremony of prorogation having already commenced.

THE PROROGATION.

The ceremony of proroguing the Legislature took place at noon with the usual pomp and display. The members opposed to the lottery had absented themselves, as did nearly all the white residents and most of the Diplomatic Corps, but the U. S. Consul-General and Lieutenant Young, of the *Boston*, were present. A native political society called the "Hui Kalaaina," about forty in number, attended, wearing broad-cloth suits, with tall hats, and badges, and carrying banners. Immediately after the prorogation, they marched across the street to the Palace, two and two, headed by their president,



A. P. PETERSON.

W. H. CORNWELL.
C. B. WILSON.

S. PARKER.



Alapai and one John Akina, who "carried a large flat package in front of his breast, suspended by ribbons from his shoulders. This was the Constitution." It had been previously arranged by the Queen that they should bring the Constitution which she had prepared, and go through the form of asking her to proclaim it. The members of the Legislature, the Diplomatic Corps, and other officials were invited over to the Palace to lend eclat to the intended *Coup*.

THE CONFERENCE IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

As soon as the Queen had left the Government building to return to the Palace, the four Ministers, at the request of the Diplomatic Corps, held an interview with them in the Foreign Office. Major Wodehouse asked them whether it was true that the Queen intended to promulgate a new constitution that afternoon, to which Mr. Parker replied that "it was a fact. He had not seen the Constitution, but the Queen had requested them to come over and sign it." Major Wodehouse then inquired what course the Cabinet would take, on which they all assured him they would not consent to sign the new Constitution. Major Wodehouse emphatically said that the Queen must not promulgate a new Constitution, and that if she had any such idea she must abandon it. In the course of the conversation Mr. Stevens inquired whether the Queen had signed the lottery bill. On Mr. Parker's replying in the affirmative, he asked again

whether the Cabinet had advised her to sign it. Mr. Peterson explained that the Queen considered that the bill having passed the Legislature, she ought to sign it, as she had no reason for vetoing it, and that the Cabinet agreed with her. Mr. Stevens is reported to have "pounded his cane upon the floor," and to have exclaimed that the passage of that bill was a direct attack upon the United States. This alleged remark was made a serious grievance of by the Cabinet. The meeting then broke up and the Cabinet went directly to the Palace, while Mr. Stevens and Major Wodehouse returned home.

THE SCENE IN THE PALACE.

In the meantime a large concourse of Hawaiians had assembled around the Palace gates, and in the grounds near the front entrance of the building, while the household troops were drawn up in line from the front steps of the Palace to the west gate, under arms, with their belts full of cartridges. In the throne-room the "Hui Kalaiaina" were drawn up in regular lines, and their president, Alapai, had an address to deliver, which he held open in his hand. Besides these, most of the native members of the Legislature, Chief-Judge Judd with Justice Bickerton, some members of the Diplomatic Corps and other officials were stationed as for a State ceremony.

Meanwhile a memorable scene was taking place in the blue room, to which the Cabinet had been summoned by the

Queen. On their tardy arrival, she at once placed before them a copy of her new Constitution, demanded their signatures, and declared her intention to promulgate it at once. According to his own account, Mr. Parker said, "Your Majesty, we have not read that Constitution, but before we read it you must know that this is a *revolutionary* act. It cannot be done." An angry discussion followed. The Cabinet spoke of the meeting just held with the foreign representatives, of the danger of an uprising, etc. She told them that "she would not have undertaken such a step if they had not encouraged her." She said "they had led her to the brink of a precipice, and now were leaving her to take the leap alone." She also said, "Why not give the people this Constitution and I will bear the brunt of all the blame afterwards." Mr. Peterson said, "We have not read this Constitution," on which she exclaimed, "How dare you say that, when you have had it in your possession for a month?" She then invited them to resign, which they declined to do. She went on to threaten the Cabinet that unless they acceded to her wishes she would go upon the steps of the Palace and tell the excited mob that she wished to give them a new Constitution, but that her Ministers were inside, hindering her from doing so. These Ministers well remembered the Court House riot of 1874, and the fate of the unlucky representatives who then fell into the hands of the mob. Before her threat could be put into execution, three of the Ministers escaped from the Palace by different exits, and repaired to their offices in the

Government building. Mr. Parker alone remained with the Queen, fearing that if left alone, she might sign the Constitution herself, proclaim it from the Palace balcony, complaining that her Cabinet and judges would not comply with her wishes, and tell the people to look out for them. Meanwhile Marshal Wilson told the Chief-Justice in great emotion that he had been fighting the battle alone all the morning, and that the Queen was determined to carry out her design.

THE APPEAL TO THE CITIZENS.

About 1:30 p. m. Mr. J. F. Colburn came to Mr. W. O. Smith's office in great excitement, and requested him to come at once to the Attorney-General's office, in the Government Building, which he did. Messrs. Thurston, Wunderberg, and E. C. Macfarlane were already there, and other leading residents came in afterward. After Mr. Colburn had related the occurrence in the Blue Room, Mr. Thurston spoke emphatically, exhorting the Ministers to stand firm, and by no means to resign, and his views were supported by all who were present. Presently John Richardson, in the uniform of an officer of the Queen's staff, came over with a message from the Queen, requesting the three Ministers to return to the palace. They were advised, however, not to go, as they constituted a majority of the executive branch of the Government and might have to assume a grave responsibility to prevent the overthrow of the existing Constitution.

Besides, Mr. Colburn declared that their lives would be in danger if they went back to the Palace. Accordingly they sent back by Mr. Richardson a message to Mr. Parker to come over at once to the Attorney-General's office, which he did, and the whole situation was again discussed.

In reply to their request for advice, Mr. Thurston proposed to them that they should declare the Queen to be in revolution and the throne vacant, and with their consent drew up a form of proclamation to that effect, which he says was approved of by two of them. He also advised, that as they did not know but that the Queen might take immediate forcible action against them, they should sign a letter asking the support of the American Minister, and deliver it to some third party, not to be used unless circumstances rendered it necessary. The Ministers approved of the suggestion, and he immediately drafted the following letter:

"HIS EXCELLENCY JNO. L. STEVENS, AMERICAN MINISTER RESIDENT, AND CAPT. G. C. WILTSE, COMMANDER OF U. S. S. BOSTON.

Gentlemen :—On behalf of the Hawaiian Cabinet, you are hereby informed that certain persons, without authority of law, have prepared and caused to be promulgated a document purporting to be a new Constitution, subversive of the rights of the people, and contrary to the law and Constitution of the land. That such illegal action is taken in the name of Her Majesty Liliuokalani, and is proposed to be supported by

force. That the Cabinet maintain that such action is revolutionary and treasonable, and they hereby request the assistance of the United States troops to maintain order and support the Government."

Mr. Colburn states that he did not sign this letter, but gave it over to Mr. Peterson.

Messrs. Thurston and Smith then left the building to go down town, but were overtaken at Richards street by a messenger from the Cabinet, requesting Mr. Thurston to return, which he did. He was then asked by the Cabinet "to ascertain what support they could expect from citizens, and in their behalf to call for armed volunteers to resist the Queen." He immediately went to Mr. W. O. Smith's office, where he drafted a declaration stating what the Queen was attempting to do, and pledging the armed support of the signers to the Cabinet against the Queen, after which he proceeded, with the help of others, to comply with their request. This document was signed by over eighty persons, including Mr. Paul Neumann, within an hour.

Leading citizens of all parties crowded into Mr. W. O. Smith's office and discussed the course to be pursued.

"There was but one mind among all those gathered together. An unanimity of sentiment prevailed such as has not been witnessed here for years, and it was agreed, without a dissenting voice, that it was the duty of every good citizen, without distinction of party, to support the law and the lib-

erties of the people, and to resist the usurpation of the Queen."

Unfortunately this paper, as well as the minutes of the meeting held that afternoon, have been lost. Mr. Smith then returned to the Government building to inform the Cabinet of the sentiment of the people.

Meanwhile Mr. Hassinger had been sent around to the Diplomatic representatives, requesting them to meet the Cabinet again in the Foreign office. They came without delay, and were in consultation with them for perhaps half an hour. According to Mr. Colburn, they strongly advised the Cabinet to return to the Palace and tell the Queen that she must abandon her project at once.

At length, about 2:30 P. M., the four Ministers revisited the Palace, not without fear that they might be put under arrest, even if they suffered no bodily harm.

Just after they had left the Government building they met Mr. W. O. Smith, who delivered to them his message concerning the feeling of the citizens down town.

POSTPONEMENT OF THE COUP D'ETAT.

The second conference in the Blue Room was a stormy and protracted one. For hours the result trembled in the balance. The Queen could not wholly renounce her cherished scheme, but finally consented with bitter reluctance to a temporary postponement of it. All this time the company

assembled in the Throne Room were patiently waiting to hear the Queen's decision, while in front of the Government building a crowd of spectators stood watching the Palace with intense anxiety. Revolution seemed imminent.

At length about 4 P. M. the Queen returned to the Throne Room, fresh from her contest with the Cabinet, with anger and defiance in her looks and bearing, but controlling herself by a supreme effort of will. Ascending the dais, she made an address in Hawaiian, of which the following is a fair translation:—

"PRINCES, NOBLES AND REPRESENTATIVES:

I have listened to the thousands of voices of my people that have come to me, and I am prepared to grant their request. The present Constitution is full of defects, as the Chief-Justice here will testify, as questions regarding it have so often come before him for settlement. It is so faulty that I think a new one should be granted. I have prepared one in which the rights of all have been regarded—a Constitution suited to the wishes of the people. I was ready and expected to proclaim the new Constitution to-day, as a suitable occasion for it, and thus satisfy the wishes of my dear people. But, with deep regret, I say that I have met with obstacles that prevent it. Return to your homes peaceably and quietly, and continue to look toward me, and I will look toward you. Keep me ever in your love. I am obliged to postpone the granting of the Constitution for a few days.

I must confer with my Cabinet, and when after you return home you may see it, receive it graciously. You have my love, and with sorrow I now dismiss you."

Representative White replied, thanking the Queen, and assuring her of the love of the people, and that they would wait patiently until their desires should be fulfilled, to which the Queen responded with thanks and left the Throne Room.

Representative Kaunamano then began in a loud voice an inflammatory harangue which was suppressed. He demanded the lives of the members of the Cabinet who had opposed the wishes of Her Majesty, and declared that he thirsted for bloodshed.

A few moments later the Queen went out upon the upper balcony of the Palace and addressed the crowd, who were almost exclusively natives. She told them that on account of the perfidy of her Ministers she was unable to give them the Constitution which she had promised them, but that she would take the earliest opportunity of procuring it for them. The crowd then gave three cheers.

The newspaper *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, issued on the morning of the 16th, gave the text of this latter speech, of which the following is a literal translation:—

"O ye people who love the chief, I hereby say to you that I am now ready to proclaim the new Constitution for my Kingdom, thinking that it would be successful; but behold, obstacles have arisen. Therefore, I say unto you, loving peo-

ple, go with good hope, and do not be disturbed or troubled in your minds, because within the next few days now coming I will proclaim the new Constitution.

"The Executive officers of the law (the Cabinet), knew the errors in the new Constitution, but they said nothing. Therefore I hope that the thing which you, my people, so much desire, will be accomplished; it is also my strong desire."

Representative White then proceeded to the front steps of the Palace and began an address. He told the crowd that the Cabinet had betrayed them, and that instead of going home peaceably, they should go into the Palace and kill and bury them. Attempts were made to stop him which he resisted, saying he would never close his mouth until the new Constitution was granted. Finally he yielded to the expostulations of Col. Jas. H. Boyd and others, threw up his hands and said that he was "*pau*,"—done—for the present. After this the audience dispersed and the Hui Kalaaina filed out, appearing very much dejected. A few minutes later Messrs. Parker and Cornwell came over to the Government building together, looking as though they had passed through a very severe ordeal. As they entered the building they were complimented by several persons for the stand which they had made.

Mr. Thurston, who stood by, however, said, "Must we continue to live in this way, with this peril hanging over our heads, uncertain whether we may not wake up any morning and find our liberties gone?" Meanwhile a *luau*, or

banquet had been prepared in the basement of the Palace, to which the Queen and about forty guests sat down.

THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE QUEEN'S CONSTITUTION.

In a letter to Mr. S. M. Damon, dated January 31, 1893, the Queen declared that the original of her new Constitution and all the copies thereof had been destroyed. In Commissioner Blount's report (pp. 581-590), however, appears a document, certified to by Messrs. Parker, Peterson and Cornwell, of her last Cabinet, as substantially identical with the one she presented to them on the 14th of January, 1893. Its correctness is confirmed by a draft now in the hands of the Government, partly written by J. Nawahi, and endorsed on the outside in the Queen's handwriting. According to this document, the principal changes made in it from the Constitution of 1887, are the following:—

ARTICLE 42.—“The Cabinet shall hold *during the Queen's pleasure*, or until removed by a vote of want of confidence passed by a majority of all the members of the Legislative assembly.” This would restore to the Sovereign entire control of the Cabinet, as prior to 1887, except during sessions of the Legislature. The word “*elective*” before “members of the Legislative Assembly” is left out because the Nobles were to be appointive. The two vital changes in this Article are both ignored by Mr. Blount.

ARTICLE 56.—“The Queen appoints the Nobles, who shall

hold their appointments during life,” instead of being elected by property-holders. This would give the Sovereign power to appoint one half of the Legislature, and to control that branch of the Government as before 1887.

ARTICLE 62.—“Only male *subjects* shall vote.” This would disfranchise the whole body of American and European residents, who had not become naturalized, and would give the native population entire control over the election of representatives.

ARTICLE 65.—The term of appointment of the Justices of the Supreme Court was made six years instead of for life, and the provision that their “compensation shall not be diminished during their continuance in office,” was stricken out. Thus the independence of the Supreme Court, which had survived all previous changes of Government, was to be destroyed.

ARTICLE 78—of the Constitution of 1887, which declared that “Wherever by this Constitution any act is to be done or performed by the King or the Sovereign, it shall, unless otherwise expressed, mean that such act shall be done and performed by the Sovereign by and with the advice and consent of the Cabinet,” was stricken out, showing that the Queen intended thenceforth to govern as well as to reign. In fact, by this Constitution all power, practically unchecked, was to be given to the Crown—executive, legislative and judicial. Thus the Government was to be transformed from a Constitutional to an absolute Monarchy by the arbitrary *fiat* of the Queen.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

The informal concourse of citizens gathered at Mr. W. O. Smith's office awaited the result of the Cabinet's second meeting with the Queen. About 4:30 p. m. Messrs. Peterson and Colburn worked their way in with difficulty through the dense crowd. Mr. Colburn told the whole story of their struggle to prevent the Queen from proclaiming the new constitution that afternoon, and asked for the continued support of the community against her, because, he said, "She may do this at any time." Other speeches, brief and resolute, were made, and the meeting organized itself, Mr. H. E. Cooper being chosen chairman and W. O. Smith secretary. The feeling of uncertainty and alarm was intense. No one could tell what would happen next, when the new constitution would be proclaimed, or whether martial law might not be declared at any moment, and the leading citizens be arrested before they could organize resistance. The meeting then proceeded to appoint a Committee of Public Safety of thirteen members, after which the assembly dispersed.

The Committee of Safety immediately held its first meeting with closed doors. "Gentlemen," said one, "we are brought face to face with this question; what shall we do?" During the discussion which followed, all were convinced that the Queen's act was revolutionary, that there existed a virtual *interregnum*, or absence of lawful government, and

that in view of her utter disregard of the constitution and laws, it had become necessary for the intelligent part of the community to organize in defence of their rights and for the security of life and property. A sub-committee was at once appointed to ascertain what amount of arms and ammunition was available, and to re-organize as soon as possible the four volunteer rifle companies which had been disbanded in 1890.

In view of the imminence of the danger, and the absence of preparation for this sudden crisis, the questions were raised whether protection should be sought from the Government of the United States, and what the attitude of its representatives would be. Accordingly another sub-committee of three, consisting of Messrs. L. A. Thurston, W. C. Wilder, and H. F. Glade, was appointed to wait upon the U. S. Minister, to ascertain from him what assistance, if any, could be expected from the U. S. cruiser *Boston*, and to report to the full Committee the next morning. It was then moved by Mr. L. A. Thurston "That preliminary steps be taken at once to form and declare a Provisional Government with a view to Annexation to the United States." The seriousness of such a step was fully admitted by all but it was the unanimous opinion that some such action was necessary, and the Committee adjourned about 6 p. m., to meet the following (Sunday) morning at the residence of Mr. W. R. Castle.

THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE SUB-COMMITTEE AND MINISTER STEVENS.

The above mentioned sub-committee called upon Mr. Stevens, the U. S. Minister, about 7 o'clock the same evening and, having explained the situation to him, inquired what the attitude of the U. S. forces would be. His reply was that "the United States troops on board of the *Boston* would be ready to land at any moment to prevent the destruction of life or property of American citizens, and that as to the matter of establishing a Provisional Government, he, of course, would recognize the existing government, whatever it might be."

Mr. Thurston informed Mr. Stevens that the proposition of establishing a Provisional Government was under consideration, and in case it should be carried out, he asked Mr. Stevens what his attitude would be. Mr. Stevens replied that whatever government was established and actually *in possession of the city*, and that was a *de facto* government, proclaiming itself as a government, would necessarily have to be recognized.

THE CONFERENCE HELD SATURDAY EVENING.

The Marshal was fully informed of what was going on, but contented himself with closing the saloons at 9 p. m., and putting on an extra police force during the night.

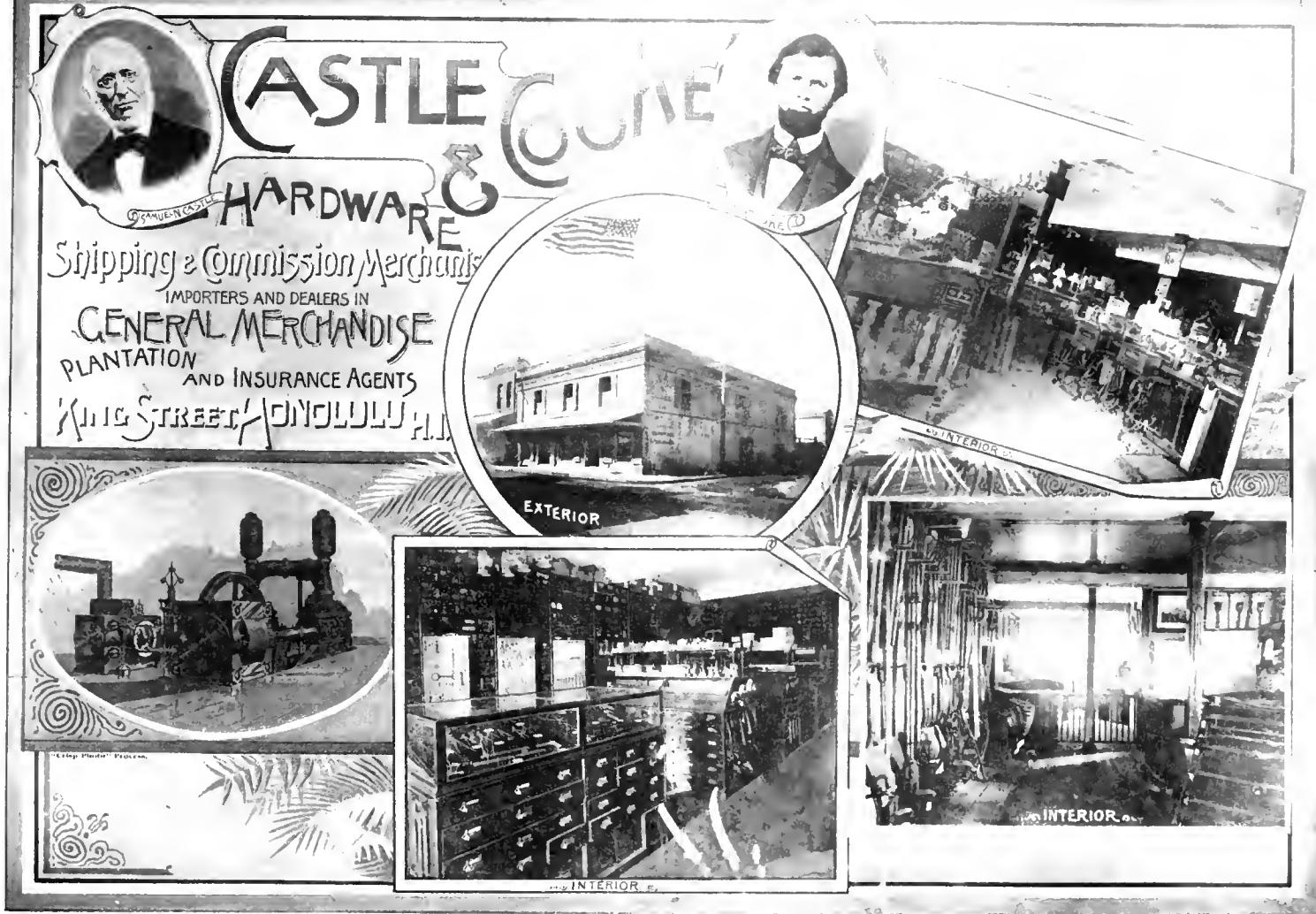
A number of leading citizens met at Mr. Thurston's house at 8 p. m. to discuss the situation and to make some plans for a Provisional Government, in case the extreme measure of dethroning the Queen should finally be deemed necessary. Among others, Messrs. W. R. Castle, A. S. Hartwell, S. B. Dole, C. L. Carter, W. O. Smith, and F. W. Wundenberg were present.

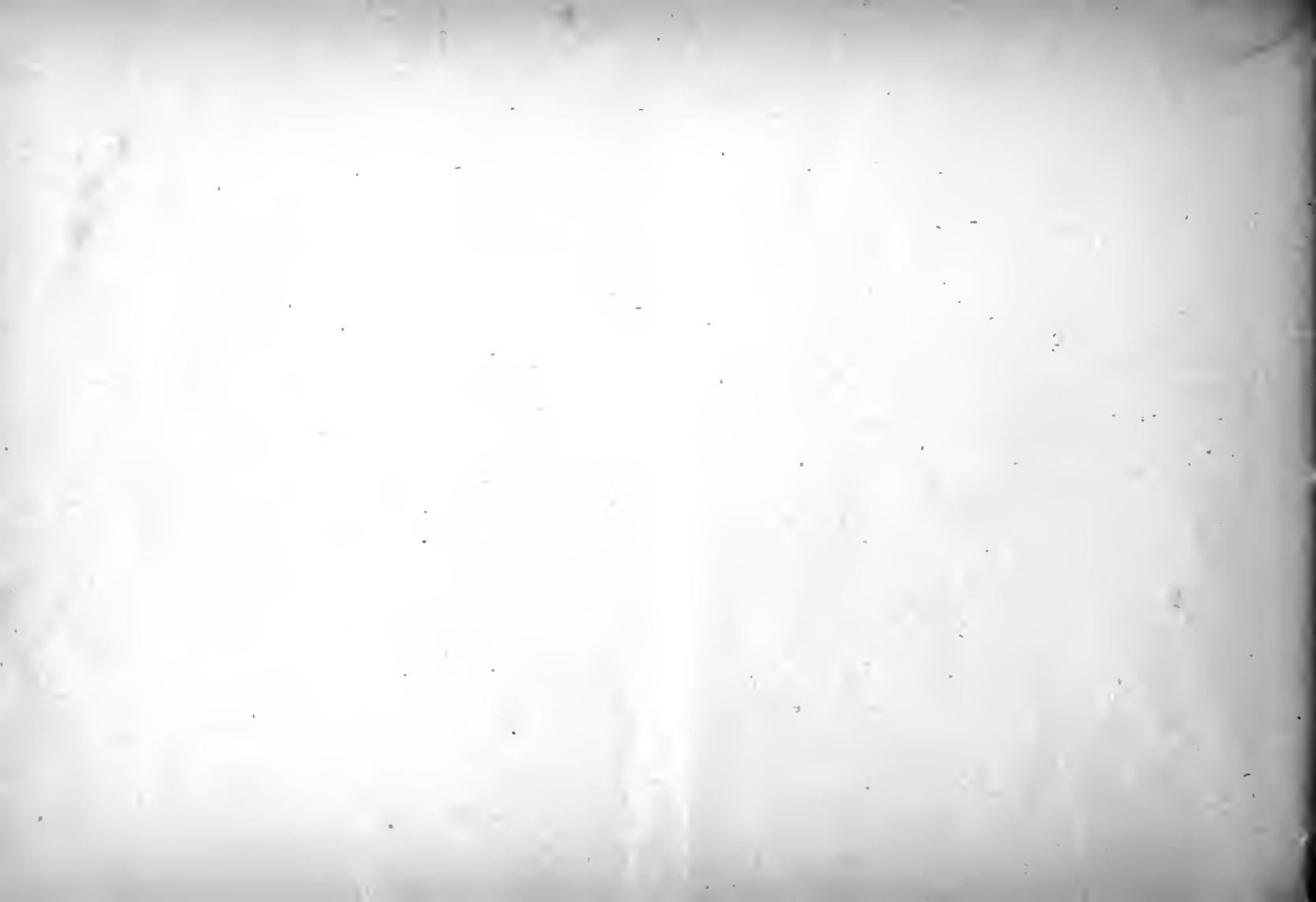
Mr. Thurston reported the result of his interview with Minister Stevens. Under strong excitement it was arranged that different persons present should commence drafting papers. Mr. Castle undertook to draft a preliminary historical statement which would serve as a preamble. Mr. Thurston was to work upon the subject of the form of a Provisional Government. Messrs. Hartwell and Dole were not yet prepared to take part in the movement. During the evening Mr. Wundenberg reported that he had not been able to find arms for more than sixty men. Soon after this a German organization, numbering about eighty, nick-named the "Drei Hundert," offered their services and their arms to the Committee. The meeting continued until a late hour.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 15, 1893.

THE OFFER MADE TO COLBURN AND PETERSON.

Sunday was a day of preparation on both sides. Early on Sunday morning (6:30 a. m.), Mr. Thurston called upon Messrs. Colburn and Peterson with a proposition from the





Committee of Safety that the Cabinet should take the lead of the movement to depose the Queen and establish a Provisional Government. He also renewed the proposal that the Cabinet should sign a request to Minister Stevens to have troops landed from the *Boston* in order to assist them in maintaining order. At their request he gave the names of the members of the Committee of Safety. They asked for twenty-four hours in which to consider the matter, to which Mr. Thurston replied that the Committee of Safety would not wait, but would proceed independently to carry out their programme if the Cabinet did not take the lead.

After his departure they sent for Messrs. Parker and Cornwall and consulted with them. Later in the day, Marshal Wilson being alarmed by the reports brought in by his detectives from all quarters, requested the Cabinet to meet him at the Station House. After he had been informed of Mr. Thurston's interview with Colburn and Peterson, he proposed to swear out warrants forthwith for the arrest of the Committee of Safety. To this Mr. Peterson objected, stating that their arrest might lead to a collision with the United States troops, who, he said, would be landed in any case. Marshal Wilson, however, appears to have been quite willing to test the question as to whether they would interfere or not. It was then agreed that they should ascertain from Minister Stevens himself whether he would assist the Committee of Safety with the forces on the *Boston*, and also seek advice from certain influential residents who were friendly to the Queen. The

same forenoon (Sunday), the Queen held a meeting at the Palace, and charged the native pastors present to pray for her, as evil-minded foreigners were endeavoring to deprive her of her throne. It is evident also that during the day she became reconciled with her Ministers, at least for the time.

THE SECOND MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

The Committee of Thirteen met at W. R. Castle's residence at 9 A. M. and remained in session until noon. After receiving reports from their committees, they decided to call a mass meeting of citizens to meet at 2 P. M. of the next day (Monday), at the old armory on Beretania street, in order to ascertain the real sentiments of the community. It was decided to make a report at that time, and then to ask the meeting to confirm the appointment of the Committee of Safety, and to give it full authority to take whatever steps might be necessary to secure the rights of the people from further aggression. If public opinion, as manifested at the mass meeting, should demand the abrogation of the Monarchy, it would be necessary that the Committee should be fully prepared to carry out such demand. The work of organization and preparation was therefore actively continued. The general form which the Provisional Government should take was reported on by Mr. Thurston. (A committee was appointed to prepare papers and secure speakers for the mass

meeting, and the call for it was printed and posted that same (Sunday) afternoon.

THE POSTER.

"A mass meeting of citizens will be held at the Beretania street armory on Monday, January 16, at 2 p. m., to consider the present critical situation. Let all business places be closed.
PER ORDER OF COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

Honolulu, January 15, 1893."

After the meeting adjourned, about 1 p. m., Messrs. Thurston and Smith called again upon the American Minister and informed him of what was going on. While Mr. Stevens gave them assurance of his purpose to protect life and property, he emphasized the fact that he could not recognize any government until actually established. (He repeated the statement that the United States troops, if landed, would not take sides with either party, but would protect the property and lives of American citizens.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE QUEEN'S PARTY SUNDAY AFTERNOON.

About 1:30 p. m. of that Sunday, the Cabinet held a consultation in the Foreign Office with several gentlemen of conservative character, *riz.*: Messrs. F. A. Schaefer, J. O. Carter, S. M. Damon, W. M. Giffard, S. C. Allen and E. C. Mac-

farlane, who had come at their request. Mr. Peterson informed them of the proposition made to himself and Colburn that morning by Mr. Thurston. He asked whether it would be expedient for the Cabinet to apply to the U. S. Minister for assistance in maintaining the authority of the Queen's government. They inquired whether the Government was able to suppress any uprising, to which he replied that the Government had ample force to meet any emergency that might arise. If so, Mr. Carter advised the Cabinet by no means to request the landing of the United States troops. A remark by Mr. Damon gave rise to a discussion as to the possibility of their landing without such a request. The question was then asked whether the Queen had abandoned the idea of proclaiming a new Constitution, to which Mr. Parker replied in the affirmative. All were agreed that in that case the Queen and Cabinet should unite in issuing a proclamation giving the public satisfactory assurance on that point. In fact, Mr. Carter had already drafted a declaration to that effect.

Notice was afterward sent to Messrs. Thurston and Smith that the Cabinet would like to meet a committee of five from the Committee of Safety the next morning.

The same evening, about 7:30 o'clock, Messrs. Parker and Peterson called upon Minister Stevens, to ascertain from him "what stand he would take in behalf of his Government, in the event of an armed insurrection against the Queen's government."

There is a conflict of testimony in regard to what passed, and nothing was put in writing at the time. It seems to be certain, however, that Mr. Stevens declined to promise assistance to the Queen in such an event. On the subject of landing troops, he appears to have uniformly maintained a diplomatic reserve.

Later on, about 8:30 p. m., the Cabinet met again at the Attorney-General's office, Messrs. C. B. Wilson, Paul Neumann, E. C. Macfarlane, R. W. Wilcox, C. T. Gulick, Dr. Rousseau, A. Rosa, and others being present. Mr. Peterson related his interview with the U. S. Minister, and the subject of the landing of United States troops was again discussed.

Marshal Wilson made a report on the available forces at the command of the Government, and proposed that martial law be proclaimed, and that the Committee of Safety be arrested at once, but Messrs. Neumann and Peterson both opposed such action on the ground that it might precipitate a conflict, which they should at all hazards avoid. It was then decided to call a counter mass meeting of loyal Hawaiians at Palace Square, to take place at the same time as the other, and a committee was appointed to draw up resolutions and prepare a programme for the occasion.

The same evening part of the Committee of Safety met at Mr. Thurston's house, where their work was further arranged, and the different parts of it were assigned.

MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1893.

THE QUEEN'S RETRACTION.

On Monday morning about half-past eight, Mr. Parker took the declaration (which had been originally drafted by Mr. J. O. Carter), to the Queen and persuaded her to sign it, but not without omissions and changes which greatly impaired its effect. It was then signed by her Ministers and printed and circulated through the city about 11 a. m. It was as follows:—

[BY AUTHORITY.]

Her Majesty's Ministers desire to express their appreciation for the quiet and order which has prevailed in this community since the events of Saturday, and are authorized to say that the position is taken by Her Majesty in regard to the promulgation of a new Constitution, was under the stress of Her native subjects.

Authority is given for the assurance that any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land will be sought only by methods provided in the Constitution itself.

Her Majesty's Ministers request all citizens to accept the

assurance of Her Majesty in the same spirit in which it is given.

(Signed),

LILIUOKALANI.

SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
W. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.
JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

IOLANI PALACE, January 16th, 1893.

This retraction, however, came too late to save the Monarchy. It was looked upon by many as a humiliating evidence of panic upon the part of the Queen's government. Her intrigues during Kalakaua's reign, and her course in regard to the lottery bill, had already destroyed all confidence in her word, while little reliance was placed on the integrity or firmness of her Cabinet. She has since then plainly shown that she never forgave her Ministers for their disobedience on the 14th of January, 1893, nor ever gave up the hope of realizing her ideal of government.

The same morning she sent for S. M. Damon and asked his advice. He recommended that she should call in the diplomatic representatives of the great powers and consult with them without delay.

THIRD MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

The Committee of Safety met at 9 o'clock on Monday morning in Mr. Thurston's law office, over Bishop's bank. Soon afterward Marshal Wilson came into the office and called Mr. Thurston into an adjoining room for a private interview. Their conversation was substantially as follows:—

Mr. Wilson said he wished the mass meeting to be stopped. Mr. Thurston replied "It can't be stopped; it is too late." Mr. Wilson said that the Queen had abandoned her idea of promulgating a new Constitution, and that a proclamation to that effect was about to be issued. To this Mr. Thurston replied, "What guarantee have we that this will not happen again? It is like living on a volcano; there is no telling when it will break out." Mr. Wilson replied, "I will guarantee that she will not attempt it again, even if I have to lock her up to keep her from doing it." Thurston said, "Suppose you were to die to-night, what then? We are not willing to accept that guarantee as sufficient. This thing has gone on from bad to worse until we are not going to stand it any longer. We mean to take no chances in the matter, but to settle it now, once for all." Mr. Wilson expressed his regret that they could not agree on any compromise, and left the office. He immediately proceeded to enlist volunteers and special constables, and proposed to the Atto-

ney-General to arrest the Committee of Safety at once, but was refused permission to do so.

A sub-committee of five, consisting of Messrs. W. C. Wilder, C. Bolte, F. W. McChesney, J. A. McCandless and H. Waterhouse, was sent about 10 a. m. to confer with the Cabinet, at their request, in the Foreign Office. The Ministers showed them the proclamation signed by themselves and the Queen, promising that she would not renew her attempt to abrogate the Constitution, and claimed that this ought to be a final settlement of the controversy. The committee asked why the Ministry had called a mass meeting for 2 o'clock at Palace Square, to which Mr. Parker replied, "to draw the crowd away from your meeting."

They then returned and reported to the Committee of Safety, which continued in session till noon, with many interruptions.

The reports brought in by those who had been canvassing for volunteers, showed that no half-way measure, such as a Regency, would stand any chance of success. The general demand was for a Provisional Government, looking toward annexation to the United States as its ultimate goal.

Although Mr. Thurston was ill, it was decided that he should open the mass meeting, and that Mr. W. C. Wilder should act as its chairman.

THE REQUEST FOR THE LANDING OF TROOPS.

Many warnings and threats of house burning and other outrages had been reported to the committee, and it was de-

cided to request the U. S. Minister to cause troops to be landed for the protection of life and property. It was feared by many that during the expected conflict for the possession of the Government buildings, lawless outrages might be perpetrated in other quarters of the city.

Accordingly, a request of the residents to Minister Stevens for the landing of United States troops which had been drawn up, was signed by the Committee of Safety.

Certain unsuitable passages in it were stricken out, but inadvertently the last sentence, (which as coming from the Committee of Safety was inconsistent with the facts), was allowed to remain.

A number of copies of the same were type-written and taken to the mass meeting to be circulated there for signatures, which plan, however, was not carried out. During the mass meeting the copy signed by the Committee was taken to Minister Stevens. It was as follows:—

HONOLULU, JANUARY 16, 1893.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN L. STEVENS, AMERICAN MINISTER RESIDENT.

Sir:—We, the undersigned, citizens and residents of Honolulu, respectfully represent that in view of recent public events in this Kingdom, culminating in the revolutionary acts of Queen Liliuokalani on Saturday last, the public

safety is menaced and lives and property are in peril, and we appeal to you and the United States forces at your command for assistance.

The Queen, with the aid of armed force, and accompanied by threats of violence and bloodshed from those with whom she was acting, attempted to proclaim a new Constitution, and while prevented for the time from accomplishing her object, declared publicly that she would only defer her action.

This conduct and action was upon an occasion and under circumstances which have created general alarm and terror.

We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and therefore pray for the protection of the United States forces.

(Signed),

HENRY E. COOPER,
F. W. MCCHESNEY,
W. C. WILDER,
C. BOLTE,
A. BROWN,
W. O. SMITH,
HENRY WATERHOUSE,
THEO. F. LANSING,
ED. SUHR,
L. A. THURSTON,
JOHN EMMELUTH,
W. R. CASTLE,
J. A. McCANDLESS,

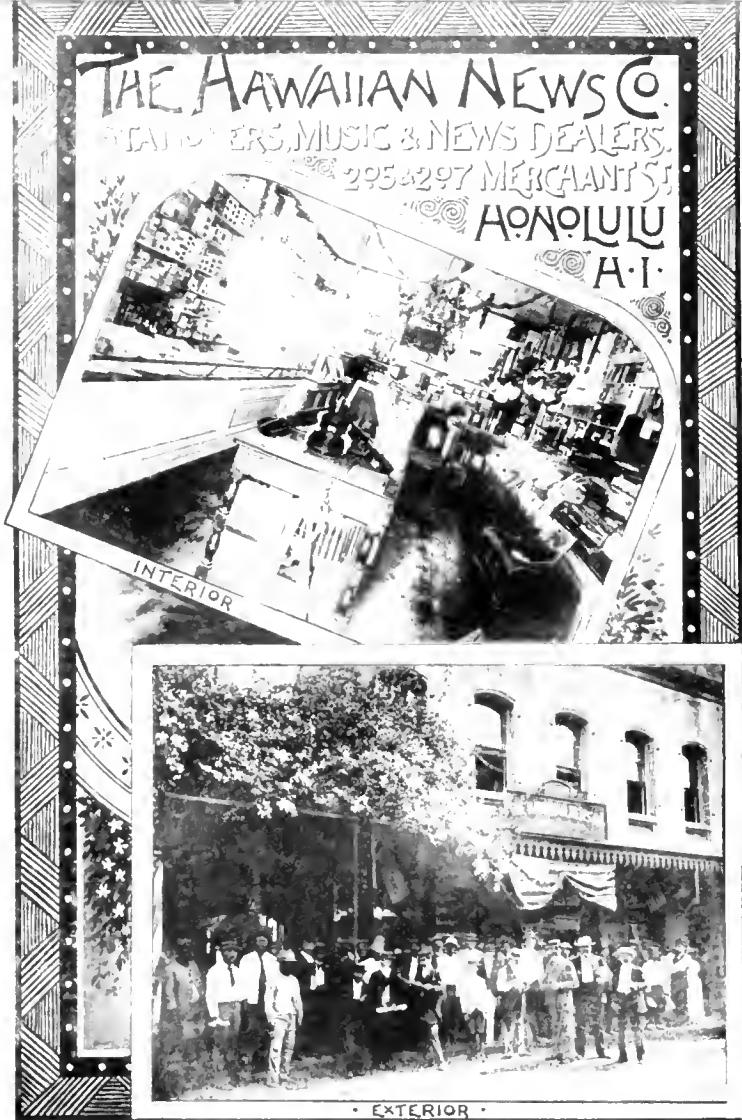
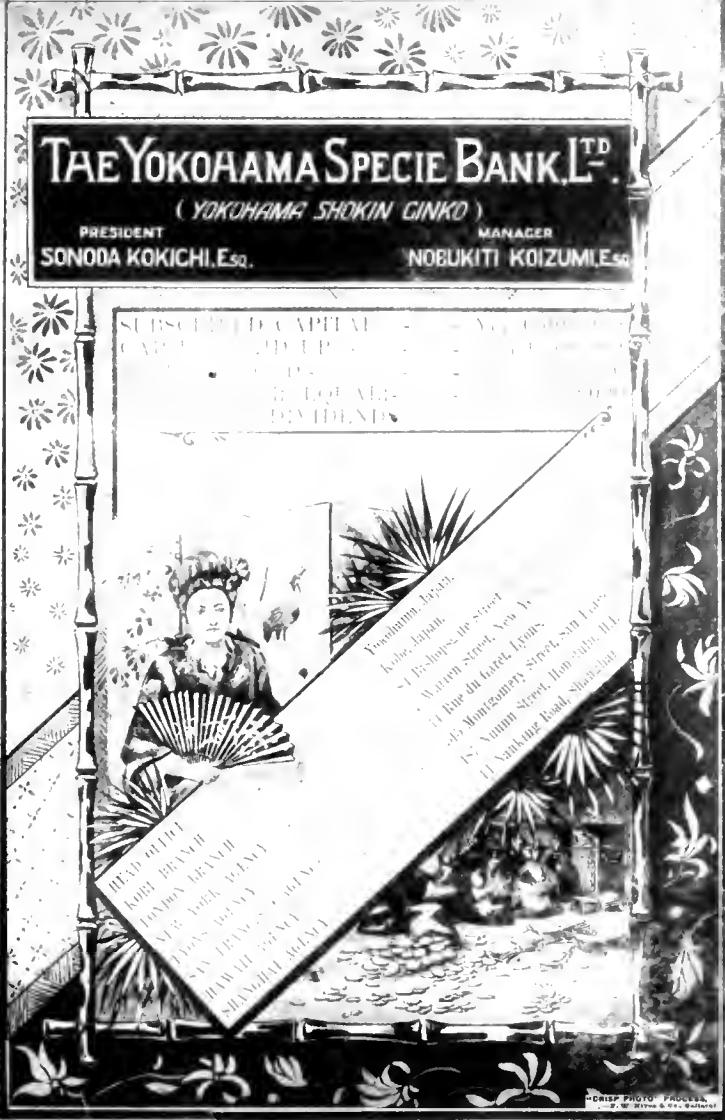
Citizens' Committee of Safety.

(From "Two Weeks' of Hawaiian History.")

THE MASS MEETING AT THE ARMORY.

At 2 p. m., Monday, January 16, the Honolulu Rifles' Armory was the scene of the largest and most enthusiastic mass meeting ever held in Honolulu. It was called by the Committee of Public Safety for the purpose of protesting against the revolutionary aggressions of the Queen. As the time approached all business was suspended, shops were closed, and but one subject was talked of. At half-past one citizens began to assemble, and before two o'clock the large building was crowded to its utmost capacity, 1260 being present by actual count, while many others came later. Every class in the community was fully represented, mechanics, merchants, professional men and artisans of every kind being present in full force. The meeting was intensely enthusiastic, being animated by a common purpose and feeling, and most of the speakers were applauded to the echo. Hon. W. C. Wilder, of the Committee of Safety, was the chairman.

Mr. Wilder said: Fellow citizens, I have been requested to act as chairman of this meeting. Were it a common occurrence, I should consider it an honor, but to-day we are not here to do honor to anybody. I accept the chairmanship of this meeting as a duty. (Applause.) We meet here to-day as men—not as any party, faction or creed, but as men who are bound to see good government. It is well known





to you all what took place at the Palace last Saturday. I need not tell you the object of this meeting, and no such meeting has been held since 1887. There is the same reason now as then. An impromptu meeting of citizens was called Saturday to take measures for the public safety. The report of the committee will be read to you. We do not meet as revolutionists, but as peaceful citizens who have the right to meet and state their grievances. (Loud applause.) We will maintain our rights, and have the courage to maintain them. (Universal cheers.)

Mr. Thurston being introduced by the chairman, read the following

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

To the Citizens of Honolulu:

On the morning of last Saturday, the 14th instant, the city was startled by the information that Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani had announced her intention to arbitrarily promulgate a new Constitution, and that three of the newly-appointed Cabinet Ministers had resigned, or were about to resign, in consequence thereof.

Immediately after the prorogation of the Legislature at noon the Queen, accompanied by her orders, by the Cabinet, retired to the Palace. The entire military force of the Government was drawn up in line in front of the building, and

remained there until dark, and a crowd of several hundred native sympathizers with the new Constitution project gathered in the throne room and about the Palace. The Queen then retired with the Cabinet: informed them that she intended to promulgate it, and proposed to do so then and there, and demanded that they countersign her signature.

She turned a deaf ear to their statements and protests that the proposed action would inevitably cause the streets of Honolulu to run red with blood, and threatened that unless they complied with her demand, she would herself immediately go out upon the steps of the Palace and announce to the assembled crowd that the reason she did not give them the new Constitution was because the Ministers would not let her. Three of the Ministers, fearing mob violence, immediately withdrew and returned to the Government building. They were immediately summoned back to the Palace but refused to go, on the ground that there was no guarantee of their personal safety.

The only forces under the control of the Government are the Household Guards and the police. The former are nominally under the control of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and actually under the control of their immediate commander, Major Nowlein, a personal adherent of the Queen.

The police are under the control of Marshal Wilson, the open and avowed royal favorite. Although the Marshal is nominally under the control of the Attorney-General. Her Majesty recently announced in a public speech that she would

not allow him to be removed. Although the Marshal now states that he is opposed to the Queen's proposition, he also states that if the final issue arises between the Queen and the Cabinet and people, he will support the Queen.

The Cabinet was absolutely powerless and appealed to citizens for support.

Later they reluctantly returned to the Palace, by request of the Queen, and for nearly two hours she again endeavored to force them to acquiesce in her desire, and upon their final refusal, announced in a public speech in the throne room, and again from the upper gallery of the Palace, that she desired to issue the Constitution but was prevented from doing so by her Ministers, and would issue it in a few days.

The citizens responded to the appeal of the Cabinet to resist the revolutionary attempt of the Queen, by gathering at the office of William O. Smith.

Later in the afternoon it was felt that bloodshed and riot were imminent; that the community could expect no protection from the legal authorities; that, on the contrary, they would undoubtedly be made the instruments of royal aggression. An impromptu meeting of citizens was held, which was attended by the Attorney-General, and which was addressed, among others, by the Minister of the Interior, J. F. Colburn, who stated to the meeting substantially the foregoing facts.

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution that the public welfare required the appointment of a Committee of

Public Safety, of thirteen, to consider the situation and devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and the protection of life and property.

Such a committee was forthwith appointed and has followed its instructions.

The first step which the committee consider necessary is to secure openly, publicly and peaceably, through the medium of a mass meeting of citizens, a condemnation of the proceedings of the party of revolution and disorder, and a confirmation from such larger meeting of the authority now vested in the committee.

For such purpose the committee hereby recommends the adoption of the following

RESOLUTION :

1. WHEREAS Her Majesty Liliuokalani, acting in conjunction with certain other persons, has illegally and unconstitutionally, and against the advice and consent of the lawful executive officers of the Government, attempted to abrogate the existing Constitution and proclaim a new one in subversion of the rights of the people;

2. AND WHEREAS such attempt has been accompanied by threats of violence and bloodshed and a display of armed force; and such attempt and acts and threats are revolutionary and treasonable in character;

3. AND WHEREAS Her Majesty's Cabinet have informed

her that such contemplated action was unlawful and would lead to bloodshed and riot, and have implored and demanded of her to desist from and renounce such proposed action ;

4. AND WHEREAS such advice has been in vain, and Her Majesty has in a public speech announced that she was desirous and ready to promulgate such Constitution, the same being now ready for such purpose, and that the only reason why it was not now promulgated was because she had met with unexpected obstacles and that a fitting opportunity in the future must be awaited for the consummation of such object, which would be within a few days ;

5. AND WHEREAS at a public meeting of citizens held in Honolulu on the 14th day of January, instant, a Committee of Thirteen, to be known as the

" COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY,"

was appointed to consider the situation and to devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and safety and the preservation of life and property ;

6. AND WHEREAS such Committee has recommended the calling of this mass meeting of citizens to protest against and condemn such action and has this day presented a report to this meeting denouncing the action of the Queen and her supporters as being unlawful, unwarranted ; in derogation of the rights of the people ; endangering the

peace of the community, and tending to excite riot, and cause the loss of life and destruction of property ;

Now, THEREFORE, WE, the Citizens of Honolulu of all nationalities and regardless of political party affiliations, do hereby condemn and denounce the action of the Queen and her supporters ;

AND WE DO HEREBY ratify the appointment and endorse the action taken and report made by the said Committee of Safety and we do hereby further empower such committee to further consider the situation and further devise such ways and means as may be necessary to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order and the protection of life, liberty and property in Hawaii.

MR. THURSTON said in substance: Mr. Chairman: Hawaii is a wonderful country. We are divided into parties and nationalities and factions, but there are moments when we are united and move shoulder to shoulder, moved by one common desire for the public good. Three times during the past twelve years this has happened—in 1880, 1887 and to-day. They say it is ended, it is done, there is nothing to consider. Is it so? (Calls of No! No!) I say gentlemen, that now and here is the time to act. (Loud cheers.) The Queen says she won't do it again. (Cries of humbug!). Fellow citizens, have you any memories? Hasn't she once before promised—sworn solemnly before Almighty God to maintain this Constitution? What is her word worth? (Calls of Nothing! Nothing!) It is an old saying that a

royal promise is made to be broken. Fellow citizens, remember it. We have not sought this situation. Last Saturday the sun rose on a peaceful and smiling city; to-day it is otherwise. Whose fault is it? Queen Liliuokalani's. It is not her fault that the streets have not run red with blood. She has printed a proclamation expressing her repentance for what she has done—and at the same time—perhaps sent out by the same carriers—her organ prints an extra with her speech with bitterer language than that quoted in the *Advertiser*. She wants us to sleep on a slumbering volcano, which will some morning spew out fire and destroy us all. The Constitution gives us the right to assemble peacefully and express our grievances. We are here doing that to-day without arms. The man who has not the spirit to rise after the menace to our liberties has no right to keep them. Has the tropic sun thinned our blood, or have we flowing in our veins the warm, rich blood which makes men love liberty and die for it? I move the adoption of the resolution. (Tumultuous applause.)

MR. H. F. GLADE: The Queen has done an unlawful thing in ignoring the constitution which she had sworn to uphold. We most decidedly protest against such revolutionary proceedings, and we should do all we possibly can to prevent her from repeating actions which result in disorder and riot. We now have a promise from the Queen that such proceedings as we experienced on Saturday shall not occur again. But we should have such assurances and

guarantees for this promise as will really satisfy us and convince us of the faith and earnestness of the promise given, of which we now have no assurance. What such guarantees and assurances ought to be I cannot at this moment say or recommend. This should be referred to the Committee of Safety for their careful consideration. I second the motion.

MR. A. YOUNG, in addressing the meeting, spoke as follows: Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens—In June, 1887, I stood on this same platform and addressed an audience almost as large as the one now before me. At that time we had met to consider a resolution that looked toward a new constitution, which proposed constitution was considered the most effectual method of removing some flagrant abuses in governmental affairs practiced by the King and his Cabinets prior to the time that the constitution was promulgated. To-day we have met to consider the action of Her Majesty in attempting to set aside the constitution we all worked so hard to have promulgated, in the best interests of the sovereign and the people at large, as well as for the redemption of the credit of the kingdom abroad. It has long been reported that at some favorable opportunity the Queen would spring a new constitution upon the people and place matters even more in the hands of the sovereign than they were before the revolution of 1887. Some did not believe the rumors, but the actions of the Queen in the last few days have convinced the most skeptical that the rumors were well

founded, and that she had been pregnant with this unborn constitution for a long time, but it could not be born till under the propitious star. The Queen's *kahunas*, together with her would-be advisers had no doubt told her that the auspicious time for the advent had arrived. In trying to promulgate this long-promised constitution, the Queen has therefore premeditatedly committed a breach of faith with one portion of her subjects, in order to satisfy the clamors of a faction of natives urged by the influence of a mischievous element of foreigners who mean no good to the Queen or the people, but simply for the purpose of providing avenues for carrying out more perfectly the smuggling of opium and diverting the contents of the treasury into their own pockets. A "By Authority" circular has now been handed around setting forth that the Queen and her Cabinet had decided not to press the promulgation of a new Constitution, but can we depend on this promise of Her Majesty? Is this promise any more binding upon her than the oath she took before the Almighty God to support and maintain the present Constitution? Has not the Queen resorted to very questionable methods in an underhanded way to remove what, to the people, was one of the most acceptable Cabinets ever commissioned by any sovereign in this Kingdom, in order that four other Ministers might be appointed that would carry out her behest, treasonable, or otherwise, as might be most conveniently within their scope. I say, have we any reasonable assurance that the Queen and her Min-

isters have abandoned finally the new Constitution promulgation scheme? (Roars of No! from the audience.) My fellow citizens, while the Queen and her Cabinet continue to trifle with and play fast and loose with the affairs of State, there can be no feeling of security for foreign families residing within these domains. There can be no business prosperity here at home, and our credit abroad must be of the flimsiest and most uncertain nature. And you business men who are toiling honestly for your bread and butter will have to put up with thin bread and much thinner butter if this farcical work is continued. In order that matters may be set to rights again and that honest, stable and honorable government may be maintained in Hawaii, I support the resolution and trust that it will be passed unanimously by this meeting.

MR. C. BOLTE spoke in a similar strain, and was followed by

HON H. P. BALDWIN: I feel with the rest of you, that the actions of the Queen have put the country in a very critical situation. Before this revolutionary act of Her Majesty, we were getting along. A Ministry had been appointed which would probably have been able to pull us through. The McKinley bill had



H. P. BALDWIN.

put the whole country into a critical situation. We were working up new industries. Mr. Dillingham is trying to build a railroad around this island. The Queen seems to have blinded herself to all these things. She has followed a whim of her own—a whim of an irresponsible body of Hawaiians—and tried to establish a new Constitution. We must stop this; but we must not go beyond Constitutional means. I favor the resolution, but think the committee should act within the Constitution. There is no question that the Queen has done a revolutionary act—there is no doubt about that. The Queen's proclamation has not inspired confidence; but shall we not teach her to act within the Constitution? (Loud calls of "No!") Well, gentlemen, I see that you do not agree with me, but I am ready to act when the time comes.

J. EMMELUTH wished to say a few words on the situation. He had heard the Queen's speech at the palace, and noted the expression of her face. It was fiendish. When the petitioners filed out he reflected on the fact that thirty men could paralyze the business of the community for twenty-four hours. It was not they that did it, but the schemers behind them, and perhaps a woman too. It was not the Hawaiians that wanted the new Constitution; not those who worked. This was the third time that he had shut his doors, let his men go, and come up to this building. It would be the last time. If we let this time go by we should deserve all we should get. An opportunity came

once in every lifetime. It had come to us, and if we finished as we should, a repetition of last Saturday would never occur in this country again. (Applause.) We must stand shoulder to shoulder. There was but one course to pursue, and we should all see it. The manifesto of this morning was bosh, "I won't do it any more; but give me a chance and I'll do it again." This is the real meaning of it. If the Queen had succeeded last Saturday, myself and you would have been robbed of the privileges without which no white man can live in this community. "Fear not, be not afraid," was written in my Bible by my mother twenty-five years ago. Gentlemen, I have done. As far as the Hawaiians are concerned, I have an aloha for them, and we wish to have laws enabling us to live peaceably together.

R. J. GREENE spoke earnestly in like tone. The Chairman then read the resolution. It was passed by a unanimous standing vote, without a dissenting voice, amid tremendous cheers, after which the meeting broke up.

THE MASS MEETING AT PALACE SQUARE.

The so-called "law and order meeting" of natives at Palace Square, which had been called by the Ministry for 2 p. m., has been variously estimated all the way from 500 to 3000. The writer estimated it at the time to be about half as large as the meeting at the Armory. It was a tame and dispirited meeting, the speakers being under strict orders to



CAPT. G. C. WILTSE.

HIS EX. J. L. STEVENS.



express themselves with great caution and moderation. Addresses were made by Messrs. A. Rosa, J. E. Bush, J. Nawahi, W. White and R. W. Wilcox, who cautioned the natives against any violence or disorder, and supported the following resolutions which were adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the assurance of Her Majesty, the Queen, contained in this day's proclamation is accepted by the people as a satisfactory guarantee that the Government does not and will not seek any modification of the Constitution by any other means than those provided in the organic law:

Resolved, That accepting this assurance, the citizens here assembled will give their cordial support to the administration and endorse them in sustaining that policy."

Thus a meeting chiefly composed of the advocates of a new constitution, the leaders of which had conspired with the Queen to secure such constitution, voted an expression of thanks to her for renouncing her attempt to establish it.

The tone of this meeting was constrained and unnatural, the only genuine enthusiasm being called out by expressions of sympathy with the attempted *Coup d'etat* of Saturday, the 14th.

LANDING OF THE U. S. TROOPS.

Immediately after the adjournment of the mass meeting the Committee of Safety met again at W. O. Smith's office. All the members felt that their course had been fully en-

dorsed, and that they would have the support of nearly the whole white population in proceeding to establish a provisional government. Their plans, however, were incomplete, and the new government not yet organized. Fearing that the landing of the U. S. troops would precipitate a conflict, before their own forces were ready, they sent Messrs. Thurston and Smith to the U. S. Legation to request Mr. Stevens to postpone it. This request certainly implied that they expected to fight their own battles.

He replied that "as a precautionary measure, and to protect the lives and property of American citizens, he had requested that the troops be landed at 5 o'clock and that they would land." After receiving their report the Committee adjourned. Marshal Wilson expected a speedy attack from the forces of the Committee of Safety, and put the Station house in a state of defense.

In view of the indications of approaching trouble, Minister Stevens had gone on board the *Boston* about 3 p. m. and handed to Capt. Wiltse the following request:

"UNITED STATES LEGATION,

HONOLULU, January 16th, 1893.

"SIR:—In view of the existing critical circumstances in Honolulu, indicating an inadequate force, I request you to land marines and sailors from the ship under your command for the protection of the United States Legation and United

States Consulate, and to secure the safety of American life and property.

(Signed)

JOHN L. STEVENS,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

TO CAPTAIN G. C. WILTSE,

Commander of the U. S. S. Boston."

Mr. Stevens, however, found that Capt. Wiltse had anticipated his request, having his force already prepared for landing, and having written the following order, which was based upon the standing rules of the Navy and Secretary Bayard's instructions to Mr. Merrill in 1887, and which went further than Mr. Stevens' request by directing the force "to assist in preserving public order."

"U. S. BOSTON, SECOND RATE.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, Jan. 16th, 1893.

"LIEUTENANT COMMANDER W. T. SWINBURNE,

U. S. Navy, Executive Officer of U. S. S. Boston.

"SIR:—You will take command of the battalion, and land in Honolulu, for the purpose of protecting our legation, consulate and the lives and property of American citizens, and to assist in preserving public order.

"Great prudence must be exercised by both officers and men and no action taken that is not fully warranted by the condition of affairs, and by the conduct of those who may be inimical to the treaty rights of American citizens.

"You will inform me at the earliest practicable moment of any change in the situation.

Very respectfully,

G. C. WILTSE,

Captain U. S. Navy, commanding U. S. S. Boston."

He also learned that previous to the two mass meetings the U. S. Consul-General, Mr. H. W. Severance, had sent Capt. Wiltse a note, warning him that there was danger of an outbreak on shore, and offering to inform him, if necessary, either by telephone, or if the wires should be cut, by setting his flag at half-mast.

Upon learning that the troops were not supplied with tents, Mr. Stevens undertook to secure some building for their accommodation, and left the ship about 4 p. m.

At 5 p. m., Lieut. W. T. Swinburne landed at Brewer's wharf with a force of 162 officers and men, having one gatling gun and one 37 millimeter revolving gun, and 80 rounds of ammunition to each man. Half of the marines were left at the U. S. Consulate, under the command of Lieut. Draper, and the remainder sent to the U. S. Legation on Nuuanu Avenue. Then the main body, comprising three companies of blue jackets, marched up King street past the Palace

where the royal salute was given, and after a long halt between Likelike and Punchbowl streets bivonacked in Mr. Atherton's grounds, awaiting further orders.

Meanwhile Mr. Stevens sent a note to Mr. Giffard of the firm of Irwin & Co., asking for the temporary use of the Opera House, which was refused. On further inquiry he was told of the building in the rear of the Opera House, called Arion Hall, which he finally secured after applying for it, first to Mr. J. S. Walker, and then to Mr. Waller, the lessee. These circumstances go to show that the selection of this building was not *premeditated*, although it was unfortunate. The troops marched down after 9 p. m. and took up their quarters there for the night. The knowledge of the fact that the U. S. troops were on shore undoubtedly served to repress disorder and gave the community a grateful sense of security. There was a band concert at the Hawaiian Hotel that evening which was well attended. During the night, however, two incendiary fires were started, one at Emma Square and the other on the plains, which were promptly extinguished.

PROTESTS AGAINST THE LANDING.

Immediately after the landing of the U. S. troops, Mr. Parker and Gov. Cleghorn called on Mr. Stevens and asked him why they had landed. He replied that the circumstances were such that he had felt compelled to take the

responsibility. They afterwards sent him formal protests in writing, to which he replied that "In whatever the United States diplomatic and naval representatives have done or may do, at this critical hour of Hawaiian Affairs, we will be guided by the kindest views and feelings for all the parties concerned, and by the warmest sentiments for the Hawaiian people and persons of all nationalities."

There is a diplomatic ambiguity in this language which was not reassuring.

It appears from the statement by Dr. Rousseau, that the representatives of Great Britain, France and Portugal also made an informal call on Mr. Stevens early in the evening, to inquire of him why the troops had been landed. He is said to have replied in substance that great alarm was felt by many of the residents, and that his object was to preserve law and order. No protest was filed by them.

During the night Marshal Wilson urged the Attorney-General to have martial law proclaimed the next morning, and showed him a proclamation to that effect, ready for signing. He also proposed to place an armed force in the Government building, but Mr. Peterson raised objections to both proposals, and nothing was done.

MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY MONDAY EVENING.

The Committee of Safety met again at 8 p. m. at the residence of Mr. Henry Waterhouse. Three of the leading

members were prevented by illness from attending, viz.: Messrs. W. R. Castle, L. A. Thurston and W. C. Wilder. Besides the Committee several well known citizens, viz.: Messrs. Alexander Young, J. H. Soper, Cecil Brown, H. P. Baldwin and F. W. Wundenburg were present. Judge Dole was chosen as President and Mr. C. Bolte was appointed to wait upon him and invite his attendance at the meeting. He came with reluctance, and at first declined the offer, stating that he was not yet convinced that the time had come for so radical a step as the abrogation of monarchy. He admitted that the manifest destiny of the islands was annexation to the United States, and that the Queen had forfeited the throne, but was not sure that a Regency, in the name of Kaiulani might not be the best solution of the problem.

At length he consented to take the matter under advisement, and to give his final answer at 10 o'clock next morning. A committee was appointed to make a list of names of suitable persons who would be willing to serve in an Executive Council of five and an Advisory Council of eight members. Mr. Soper was requested to take command of the military forces, to which he consented conditionally. The assertion that a committee was sent from this meeting to confer with Mr. Stevens has been fully proved to be false. Mr. Cecil Brown declined to serve in the Executive Council, but afterwards joined the Advisory Council. A committee of three was appointed to procure additional

arms and ammunition, and the meeting adjourned near midnight.

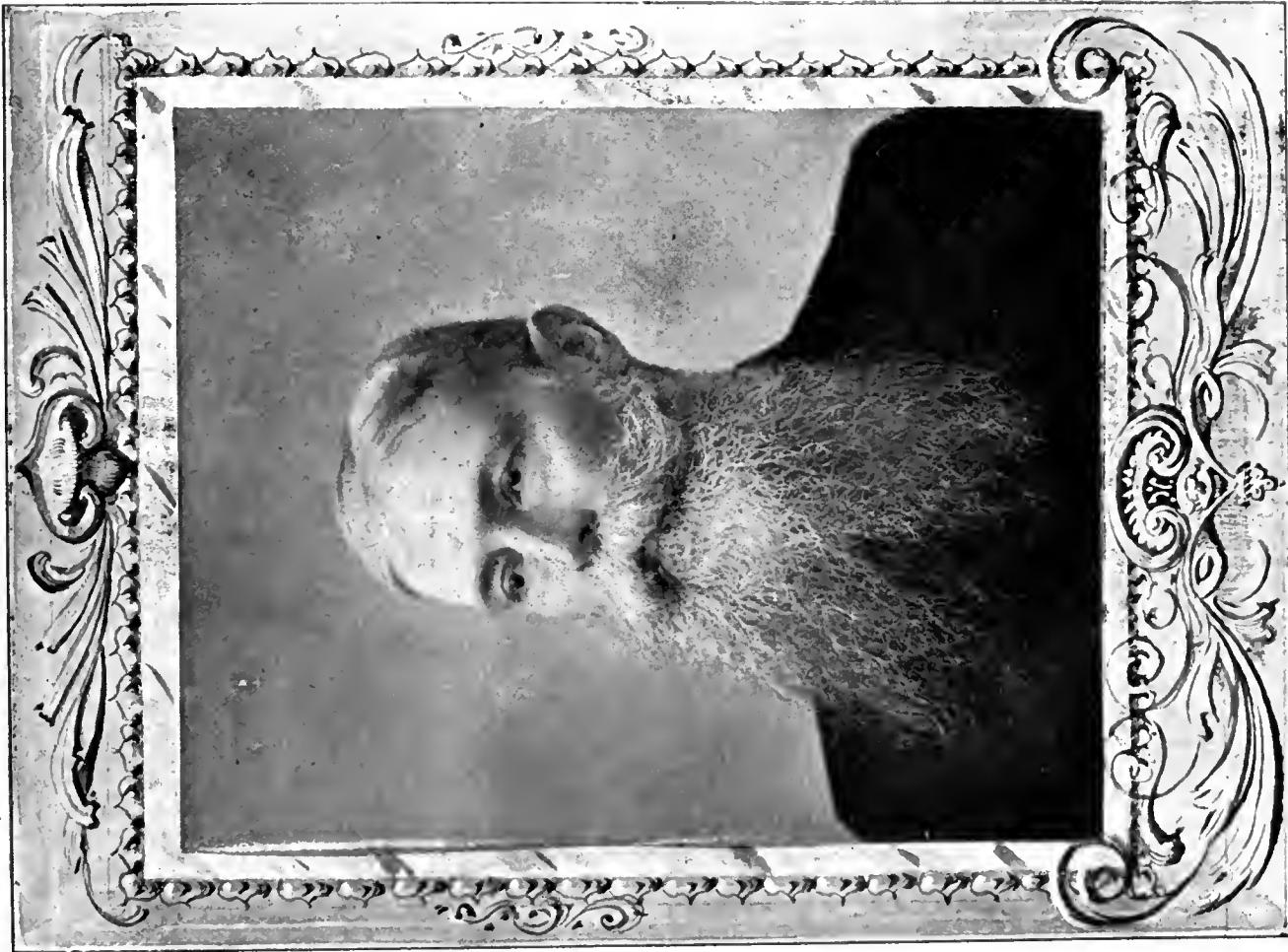
Tuesday, January 17th, 1893, will ever be a memorable day in the history of the Hawaiian Islands.

MR. DAMON'S INTERVIEW WITH THE QUEEN.

About 9 A. M. Mr. S. M. Damon called on the Queen and informed her that he had decided to join the party which had for its object the abrogation of monarchy and annexation to the United States. He advised her not to resist what was inevitable, but to submit, as resistance would only cause useless bloodshed. According to her own statement she asked him to accept an appointment to the Advisory Council, thinking that in that position he might be of service to her, from which it may fairly be inferred that she had already decided to submit.

LAST MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

The Committee of Safety met at 10 A. M. in Mr. W. O. Smith's office. It was voted that the number of members of the Advisory Council be increased from eight to thirteen, and the list of members decided upon. Meanwhile Mr. L. A. Thurston dictated the proclamation of the provisional government from a sick bed. Hon. S. B. Dole, having sent



S. B. DOLE,
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAWAII.



his resignation as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court to Mr. S. Parker, the then premier, came before the Committee of Safety about 11 a. m., and announced that he would accept the position offered him, of president of the Executive Council. Reflection had convinced him that no half-way measure like a Regency would be practicable or satisfactory. Mr. S. M. Damon also came in for the first time. It was decided to charter the steamer *Claudine* for a trip to San Francisco. The Committee then took a recess until 1:30 p. m.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE QUEEN'S PARTY.

Marshal Wilson, in his written statement, says, that before 11 a. m. he was informed that the Committee of Safety "would move on the Government house at 3 p. m., and on the Police Station at 4 p. m., and that they would rendezvous at the Armory on Beretania street." He says that he sent for the Cabinet, "but there were no signs of the Cabinet," till 2 p. m. If they had garrisoned and held the Government building, as the then legal government, the proximity of the United States troops would have merely served to strengthen their position against any attack by the revolutionists. It seems that Mr. C. J. McCarthy, (clerk of the legislature of 1892), had been placed by Mr. Wilson in charge of the building, but waited there in vain for a force that never came. Several thousand cartridges

were afterwards found in the Foreign Office, probably intended for its defense. Mr. Wilson notified Capt. Nowlein to station part of his men in the basement of the palace, and massed his regular police and specials at the Station house. He is said to have sent the Queen a message at 11 a. m. and again at 1 p. m., by no means to yield.

As near as can be ascertained, the Queen had 65 soldiers at the barracks, and 110 regular police, besides a considerable number of volunteers, of whom no register can be found. They had abundance of rifles, one Gatling gun and a battery of eight field pieces, but they lacked skill to use them as well as confidence in their cause, and above all, competent leaders.

To judge from their conduct, the Queen's Cabinet were overawed by the unanimity and determination of the foreign community, and probably had an exaggerated idea of the force at the command of the Committee of Safety. They shrank from the responsibility of causing fruitless bloodshed, and sought a valid excuse for inaction, which they thought they found in the presence of the United States troops on shore, and in the well known sympathy of the American Minister with the opposition.

At a meeting of the Cabinet held in the forenoon, it was decided to call a conference of the diplomatic corps at 1 p. m. which was done. Mr. Stevens declined to attend, but the representatives of Great Britain, France, Portugal and Japan met with the Cabinet in the Foreign Office. Accord-

ing to Mr. Parker, they advised the Cabinet "to make no resistance" to the coming revolution.

About this time the following letter was sent to Minister Stevens:

Sir:—The assurance conveyed by a royal proclamation by myself and Ministers yesterday, having been received by my native subjects and by them ratified at a mass meeting, was received in a different spirit by the meeting representing the foreign population and interests in my kingdom. It is now my desire to give your excellency, as the diplomatic representative of the United States of America at my court, the solemn assurance that the present constitution will be upheld by me and by my ministers, and no changes will be made except by the method therein provided. I desire to express to your excellency this assurance in the spirit of that friendship which has ever existed between my kingdom and that of the Government of the United States of America, and which I trust will long continue.

LILIUOKALANI, R.

SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs;

WILLIAM H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance;

JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of Interior;

A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

Iolani Palace, Honolulu, Jan. 17, 1893.

A little before 2 p. m. the whole Cabinet drove out to Mr. Stevens' residence, to ascertain whether he would afford any assistance to the Queen's government, in case it should be required. As Mr. Stevens was suffering from a severe attack of illness, he received only two of them in his private office, viz., Messrs. Parker and Peterson. The latter went into a legal argument to prove that they were the legal government, and as such could properly ask the aid of the United States naval forces to sustain the Queen. Mr. Stevens replied—"Gentlemen, these men were landed for one purpose only, a pacific purpose, and we cannot take part in any contest. I cannot use this force for sustaining the Queen or anybody else." The Cabinet then hastened to the Station house, where they remained during the rest of the afternoon.

CLOSING ACTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

The Committee of Safety met again at 2 p. m. At this meeting the Executive Counsel was reduced in number from five to four members, the offices of President and Minister of Foreign Affairs being united in one person, while the Advisory Council was increased to fourteen members. The Committee of Safety signed the proclamation, and the Executive Council signed the commission of John H. Soper, as commander of the forces. The papers were completed by 2:30 p. m., and word was sent for the four volunteer com-



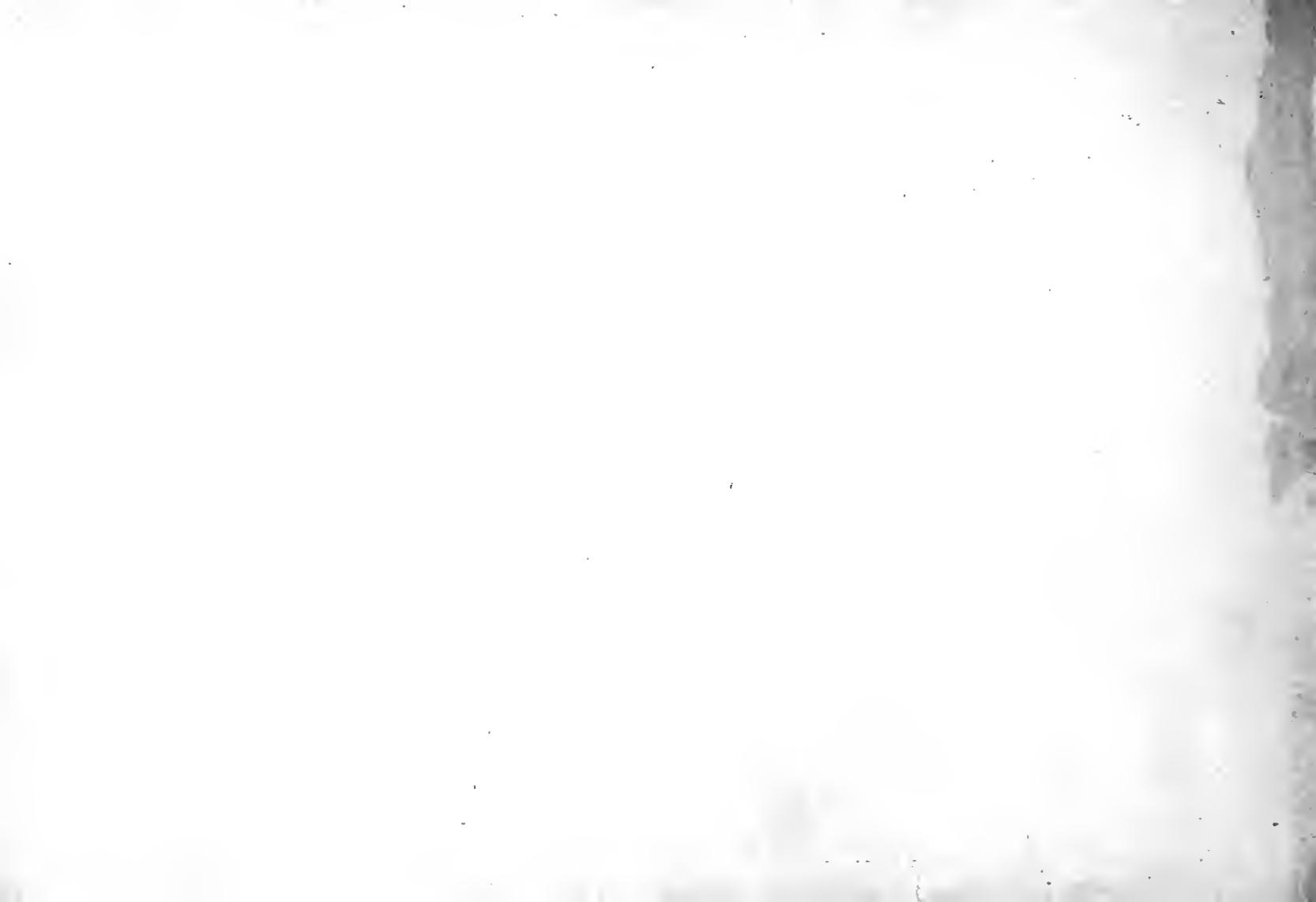


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DES - ENG. CHICAGO.

HONOLULU



panies to assemble at the armory and move from there on the Government building.

Mr. C. L. Carter had previously gone to the Government building to see if there was a guard concealed there but found none. "There were but eight clerks in the building which ordinarily teemed with the Ministers, Judges and some forty or fifty officials and clerks." He also visited Arion Hall and asked Lieut. Swinburne to let him see his orders, to which he consented, saying, "You see my orders are to protect the Legation, the Consulate, and the lives and property of American citizens, and to assist in preserving order; I do not know how to interpret that; I can do it in but one way. If the Queen calls upon me to preserve order, I am going to do it."

At 2 p.m. the members of the Executive and Advisory Councils together with Mr. H. E. Cooper, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, left Mr. W. O. Smith's office, and proceeded on foot, most of them up Merchant street, and the rest up Queen street to the Government building. Just as they were starting, they saw and heard a pistol shot fired one block above, and people running from all directions towards that point. They hastened on, not without a keen sense of personal danger, but found their way entirely clear.

THE SHOT ON FORT STREET.

That morning Mr. John Good had been appointed ordnance officer, and with three assistants had been col-

lecting arms and ammunition from different stores. The loading of his wagon at E. O. Hall & Son's had been watched by several policemen, detailed for the purpose.

As the wagon was being driven out of the rear entrance on King street, a policeman snatched at the reins, and ordered a halt. As the driver kept on, he blew his whistle, and four or five more policemen came running up. A Fort street car had just crossed King street, and together with a passing dray, blocked the way for a few moments. As the wagon turned to go up Fort street, a struggle ensued, during which Mr. Good shot a policeman through the shoulder, on which the others fell back. The wagon was then driven at full speed up Fort street, pursued by two policemen in a haek, who were kept at a distance by rifles leveled at them from the wagon. Mr. Good and his men continued on up Fort street to School street, and then down Punchbowl street to the Armory, where they were glad to see Capt. Ziegler's company drawn up in line. The wounded man, whose name was Leialoha, was assisted by another officer and Mr. P. M. Rooney to the Station house, where he was attended to by Dr. Peterson. He was afterwards taken to the hospital, and in time entirely recovered from his wound.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT DECLARED.

In the meantime the founders of the new government had reached the Government building. All were unarmed.

Only one of the volunteer riflemen had arrived, and none of the Queen's forces were in sight. The house was nearly "empty, swept and garnished." Lieut. Swinburne withdrew his men to the rear of Arion hall out of sight, to stack arms, and kept them at their company parades, except a single sentry pacing the lane in front.

Mr. Cooper then made demand upon Mr. Hassinger, the chief clerk of the Interior office, for possession of the building, and the demand was immediately complied with, there being no force with which any resistance could have been made. The Committee now proceeded to the public entrance, and here Mr. H. E. Cooper read to the gathering crowd the following proclamation :

PROCLAMATION.

In its earlier history Hawaii possessed a Constitutional Government honestly and economically administered in the public interest.

The Crown called to its assistance as advisers able, honest and conservative men whose integrity was unquestioned even by their political opponents.

The stability of the Government was assured; armed resistance and revolution unthought of, popular rights were respected and the privileges of the subject from time to time increased and the prerogatives of the Sovereign diminished by the voluntary acts of the successive Kings.

With very few exceptions this state of affairs continued until the expiration of the first few years of the reign of His late Majesty Kalakaua. At this time a change was discernible in the spirit animating the chief executive and in the influences surrounding the Throne. A steadily increasing disposition was manifested on the part of the King, to extend the Royal prerogatives; to favor adventurers and persons of no character or standing in the community; to encroach upon the rights and privileges of the people by steadily increasing corruption of electors, and by means of the power and influence of office holders and other corrupt means to illegitimately influence the elections, resulting in the final absolute control of not only the executive and legislative; but to a certain extent the judicial departments of the government, in the interest of absolutism.

This finally resulted in the revulsion of feeling and popular uprising of 1887, which wrested from the King a large portion of his ill-gotten powers.

The leaders of this movement were not seeking personal aggrandisement, political power or the suppression of the native government. If this had been their object it could easily have been accomplished, for they had the absolute control of the situation.

Their object was to secure responsible government through a representative Cabinet, supported by and responsible to the people's elected representatives. A clause to this effect was

inserted in the Constitution and subsequently enacted by law by the Legislature; specifically covering the ground that, in all matters concerning the State the Sovereign was to act by and with the advice of the Cabinet and only by and with such advice.

The King willingly agreed to such proposition, expressed regret for the past, and volunteered promises for the future.

Almost from the date of such agreement and promises, up to the time of his death, the history of the Government has been a continual struggle between the King on the one hand and the Cabinet and the Legislature on the other, the former constantly endeavoring by every available form of influence and evasion to ignore his promises and agreements and regain his lost powers.

This conflict upon several occasions came to a crisis, followed each time by submission on the part of His Majesty, by renewed expressions of regret and promises to abide by the constitutional and legal restrictions in the future. In each instance such promise was kept until a further opportunity presented itself, when the conflict was renewed in defiance and regardless of all previous pledges.

Upon the accession of Her Majesty Liliuokalani, for a brief period the hope prevailed that a new policy would be adopted. This hope was soon blasted by her immediately entering into conflict with the existing Cabinet, who held office with the approval of a large majority of the Legislature, resulting in the triumph of the Queen and the removal of

the Cabinet. The appointment of a new Cabinet subservient to her wishes and their continuance in office until a recent date gave no opportunity for further indication of the policy which would be pursued by Her Majesty until the opening of the Legislature in May of 1892.

The recent history of that session has shown a stubborn determination on the part of Her Majesty to follow the tactics of her late brother, and in all possible ways to secure an extension of the royal prerogatives and an abridgment of popular rights.

During the latter part of the session, the Legislature was replete with corruption; bribery and other illegitimate influences were openly utilized to secure the desired end, resulting in the final complete overthrow of all opposition and the inauguration of a Cabinet arbitrarily selected by Her Majesty in complete defiance of constitutional principles and popular representation.

Notwithstanding such result the defeated party peacefully submitted to the situation.

Not content with her victory, Her Majesty proceeded on the last day of the session to arbitrarily arrogate to herself the right to promulgate a new Constitution, which proposed among other things to disfranchise over one-fourth of the voters and the owners of nine-tenths of the private property of the Kingdom, to abolish the elected upper House of the Legislature and to substitute in place thereof an appointive one to be appointed by the Sovereign.

The detailed history of this attempt and of the succeeding events in connection therewith is given in the report of the Committee of Public Safety to the citizens of Honolulu, and the resolution adopted at the mass meeting held on the 16th inst., the correctness of which report and the propriety of which resolution are hereby specifically affirmed.

The constitutional evolution indicated has slowly and steadily, though reluctantly, and regretfully, convinced an overwhelming majority of the conservative and responsible members of the community that independent, constitutional, representative and responsible government, able to protect itself from revolutionary uprisings and royal aggression is no longer possible in Hawaii under the existing system of government.

Five uprisings or conspiracies against the government have occurred within five years and seven months. It is firmly believed that the culminating revolutionary attempt of last Saturday will, unless radical measures are taken, wreck our already damaged credit abroad and precipitate to final ruin our already overstrained financial condition; and the guarantees of protection to life, liberty and property will steadily decrease and the political situation rapidly grow worse.

In this belief, and also in the firm belief that the action hereby taken is, and will be for the best personal, political and property interests of every citizen of the land.

We, citizens and residents of the Hawaiian Islands, organized and acting for the public safety and the common good, hereby proclaim as follows:

1. The Hawaiian Monarchical system of Government is hereby abrogated.

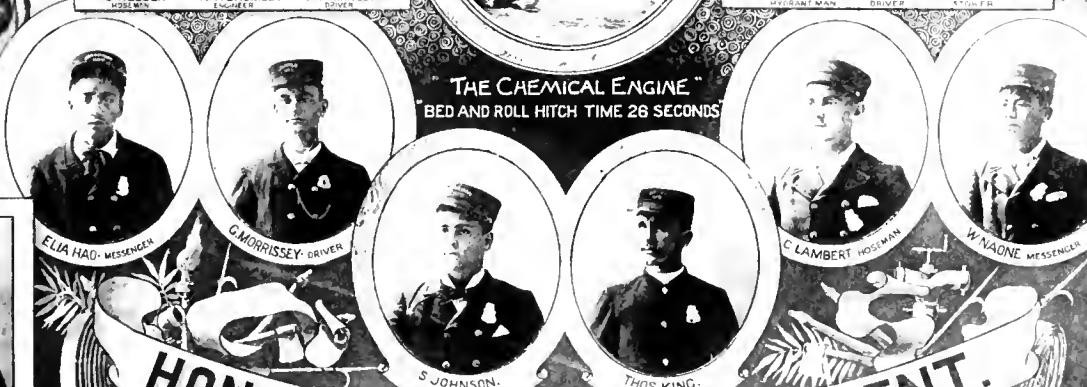
2. A Provisional Government for the control and management of public affairs and the protection of the public peace is hereby established, to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.

3. Such Provisional Government shall consist of an Executive Council of four members, who are hereby declared to be

S. B. DOLE,
J. A. KING,
P. C. JONES,
W. O. SMITH,

Who shall administer the Executive Departments of the Government, the first named acting as President and Chairman of such Council and administering the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the others severally administering the Department of Interior, Finance and Attorney-General, respectively, in the order in which they are above enumerated, according to existing Hawaiian Law as far as may be consistent with this Proclamation; and also of an Advisory Council which shall consist of fourteen members who are hereby declared to be

S. M. DAMON,
A. BROWN,
L. A. THURSTON,
J. F. MORGAN,



HONOLULU FIRE DEPARTMENT.





J. EMMELUTH,
H. WATERHOUSE,
J. A. McCANDLESS,
E. D. TENNEY,
F. W. McCHESNEY,
F. WILHELM,
W. R. CASTLE,
W. G. ASHLEY,
W. C. WILDER,
C. BOLTE,

Such Advisory Council shall also have general legislative authority.

Such Executive and Advisory Councils shall, acting jointly, have power to remove any member of either Council and to fill such or any other vacancy.

4. All officers under the existing Government are hereby requested to continue to exercise their functions and perform the duties of their respective offices, with the exception of the following named persons:

QUEEN LILIUOKALANI,
CHARLES B. WILSON, *Marshal*,
SAMUEL PARKER, *Minister of Foreign Affairs*,
W. H. CORNWELL, *Minister of Finance*,
JOHN F. COLBURN, *Minister of the Interior*,
ARTHUR P. PETERSON, *Attorney-General*,

who are hereby removed from office.

inconsistent herewith shall continue in force until further order of the Executive and Advisory Councils.

(Signed)

HENRY E. COOPER, Chairman;
ANDREW BROWN,
THEODORE F. LANSING,
JOHN EMMELUTH,
C. BOLTE,
ED. SUHR,
HENRY WATERHOUSE,
W. C. WILDER,
F. W. McCHESNEY,
WM. O. SMITH,
LORRIN A. THURSTON,
WM. R. CASTLE,
J. A. McCANDLESS,

Committee of Safety.

Honolulu, H. I., January 17th, 1893.

THE VOLUNTEERS.

While the proclamation was being read Mr. S. M. Damon asked Mr. C. L. Carter to go over and ask Lieut. Swinburne if he would send them a guard. Lieut. Swinburne replied: "Capt. Wiltse's orders are that I remain *passive*, or neutral." By the time that the reading was finished, (2:30 p. m.) 45 men of Company A under Capt. Ziegler, arrived on the

double quick, in company order. Directly after, Company B under Capt. Potter, began to arrive. The grounds were then cleared and guards set at the gates and by 3 o'clock there were nearly 100 riflemen drawn up, awaiting orders.



J. H. SOPER.

Fred. Wundenberg and J. H. Fisher. Captains Hugh Gunn, George C. Potter, Charles Ziegler and J. M. Camara, Jr., were placed in command of the different companies.

Pickets were then stationed all over the city to carry out the provisions of Martial Law which had been proclaimed by the new government.

After the reading of the proclamation, the new government at once took possession of the Treasury and all the departments. The following orders were issued:

HONOLULU, H. I., Jan. 17th, 1893.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

ORDER No. 1.

All persons favorable to the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands are hereby requested to forthwith report to the Government at the Government building to furnish the Government such arms and ammunition as they may have in their possession or control as soon as possible, in order that efficient and complete protection to life and property and the public peace may immediately and efficiently be put into operation.

ORDER No. 2.

It is hereby ordered and decreed that until further orders the right of the writ of *habeas corpus* is hereby suspended and Martial Law is hereby declared to exist throughout the Island of Oahu.

All liquor saloons were closed for a time.

VARIOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

Soon after the reading of the Proclamation President Dole sent notes to all the Diplomatic and Consular representa-

tives of other governments, informing them of what had been done, and asking for their recognition of the Provisional Government. Mr. Stevens sent down his aid, Mr. Pringle, before 4 p. m. to the Government building to ascertain whether the Provisional Government was actually in possession.

About the same time Major J. H. Wodehouse, the British Commissioner, with the British Vice-Consul, Mr. T. R. Walker, called upon President Dole, to verify the report of the occupation and to learn the object of the movement. After leaving the room he spoke of it as an *oral* recognition. His formal written recognition was received on the 20th.

Mr. Fuji, the Japanese Consul-General, called a little later. About 4:30 p. m., Capt. Wiltse and Lieut. Swinburne had an interview with President Dole in what had been the office of the Minister of the Interior. The situation was explained to them, and Capt. Wiltse was asked if he was prepared to recognize the new government. As Lieut. Swinburne states: "In answer Capt. Wiltse asked if their Government had possession of the Police Station and barracks. President Dole replied that they were not yet in possession of them, but expected to hear of it very soon. To this Capt. Wiltse replied: 'Very well, gentlemen, I cannot recognize you as a *de facto* government until you have possession of the Police Station or are fully prepared to guarantee protection to life and property,' or words to that effect." Just

then the late ministry was announced, and he withdrew. Neither party suggested the idea of his assisting the Provisional Government. Nor had any recognition been received from Mr. Stevens.

The volunteer troops also understood that the United States blue jackets were under orders to remain neutral, and they fully expected to fight their own battles.

LAST APPEAL OF THE CABINET TO STEVENS.

Information of the proclamation of the Provisional Government had been promptly brought to the Station House by Mr. McCarthy and others. Mr. Wilson proposed to attack the Provisional Government before it had time to collect its forces, but Mr. Peterson objected that this course would only lead to a conflict with the United States troops. Accordingly, the Cabinet decided, after consulting Messrs. E. C. Macfarlane, A. Rosa and others, to address a letter to Minister Stevens in order to find out whether he had recognized or would recognize the Provisional Government. The letter was dictated by Mr. Peterson, and was as follows:

"HONOLULU, Jan. 17th, 1893.

To His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS, U. S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Sir:—Her Hawaiian Majesty's Government having been informed that certain persons to them unknown have issued

a proclamation declaring a Provisional Government to exist in opposition to Her Majesty's Government, and having pretended to depose the Queen, Her Cabinet and Marshal, and that certain treasonable persons at present occupy the Government building in Honolulu with an armed force, and pretending that your excellency, on behalf of the United States of America, has recognized such Provisional Government Her Majesty's Cabinet asks respectfully, has your excellency recognized said Provisional Government, and if not, Her Majesty's Government, under the above existing circumstances, respectfully requests the assistance of your government in preserving the peace of the country.

We have the honor,

to be your excellency's obedient servants,

(Signed)

SAMUEL PARKER,

Minister of Foreign Affairs;

WILLIAM H. CORNWELL,

Minister of Finance;

JOHN F. COLBURN,

Minister of Interior;

A. P. PETERSON,

Attorney-General."

This letter was dispatched by Mr. C. L. Hopkins to Minister Stevens a little after 3 p.m.

As Mr. Stevens was ill, his daughter asked Mr. Hopkins to wait or to call again in an hour and he chose to wait.

Mr. Stevens' reply which was received at the Station house near 4 p.m., has never been given to the public, but the substance of it may be gathered from the following entry on the files of the U. S. Legation:

U. S. LEGATION,

HONOLULU, Jan. 17th, 1895.

"About 4 to 5 p.m. of this date—am not certain of the precise time—the note on file from the four ministers of the deposed Queen, inquiring if I had recognized the Provisional Government, came to my hands while I was lying sick on the couch. Not far from 5 p.m.—I did not think to look at my watch—I addressed a short note to Hon. Samuel Parker, Hon. Wm. H. Cornwell, Hon. John F. Colburn and Hon. A. P. Peterson, (no longer regarding them as ministers), informing them that I had recognized the Provisional Government.

(Signed)

JOHN L. STEVENS,

U. S. Minister.

This reply from Mr. Stevens decided the Queen's Cabinet to resign, but it appears that his letter of recognition was not received by the Provisional Government till more than an hour later.

THE QUEEN'S SURRENDER.

After receiving the above note from Mr. Stevens, the Queen's Cabinet sent Mr. Mehrtens, the Deputy Marshal,

to the Government building, to invite the Executive Council to come to the Police Station for a conference. This, the Council refused to do, but sent an assurance to the Queen's Ministers of their personal safety, if they would come up and talk over the situation.

Accordingly, Messrs. Parker and Cornwell came up and held a brief conference. At their suggestion, Messrs. Damon and Bolte were deputed to accompany them back to the Police Station. On arriving there, a consultation was held in the deputy marshal's office, between Messrs. Damon and Bolte on one side and the Queen's Cabinet with Messrs. Neumann and E. C. Macfarlane on the other side, in regard to the surrender of the Station house and barracks.

The two former told the Queen's representatives, that their cause was lost, and that they would be responsible for useless bloodshed, if they persisted in holding out. Mr. Wilson refused to surrender except on the written order of the Queen and her Cabinet. The latter proposed to surrender under protest. Messrs. Bolte and Damon then returned (about 5 p. m.) in company with the four ministers, to the Government building, where they held a conference with the Executive Council in the Interior Office. President Dole said that he would prefer to settle the matter without recourse to arms, and made a demand upon them to deliver up to him what government property remained in their possession. They asked for a truce till the next day, which was refused. They then said that before a final

answer could be given, it would be necessary for them to consult with the Queen, and asked that Mr. Damon should assist them in explaining the situation to her. Their own influence with her had been much impaired since the affair of the 14th.

About this time, not far from 5:30 p. m., Minister Stevens' recognition of the Provisional Government as the Government *de facto*, was brought in by Mr. Geo. H. Paris. It was as follows:

"UNITED STATES LEGATION,
"HONOLULU, H. I., Jan. 17, 1893.

"A Provisional Government having been duly constituted in the place of the recent government of Queen Liliuokalani, and said Provisional Government being in full possession of the Government buildings, the archives and the treasury, and in control of the Capitol of the Hawaiian Islands, I hereby recognize said Provisional Government as the *de facto* Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

(Signed)

JOHN L. STEVENS,
*U. S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary.*

It should be observed in this connection that a *recognition* is a very different thing from an *alliance*. Although this recognition of the Provisional Government as the *de facto* Government, gave it the moral support of the U. S. Minister,

it gave no one any reason to expect that the U. S. naval forces would depart in the slightest degree from their attitude of neutrality, nor did it preclude a trial of strength between the opposing parties.

In the mean time Mr. Mehrtens had been sent to request the attendance of Mr. J. O. Carter, who arrived at the Council Chamber, (the former office of the Minister of Finance), a little before 6 p. m., when he learned that Mr. Stevens had just recognized the Provisional Government. He was then asked to accompany Mr. Damon to the Palace, the Queen's Cabinet having already gone over. No instructions or credentials were given them, and it does not appear that they were empowered to negotiate any terms of surrender.

They found the Queen in the blue room in consultation with her four ministers, besides Messrs. Paul Neumann E. C. Macfarlane, H. A. Widemann and others. Mr. Damon at once informed her of the establishment of the Provisional Government and of her deposition as Sovereign, and added that she might prepare a protest if she wished to do so. Messrs. J. O. Carter, Widemann and Neumann advised her to resign under protest, in the hope and expectation that her case would be considered at Washington.

Mr. Widemann referred to the restoration of the flag in 1843 after a conditional cession to Great Britain, as a parallel case. At the Queen's request, Mr. Neumann proceeded to draft a protest, which does credit to his shrewdness and foresight. Meanwhile an order was sent to Marshal

Wilson to surrender the Station House, which he refused to do. By this time the lamps had been lighted, and the Queen's surrender was signed about 6:30 p. m. It is as follows:

"I Liliuokalani, by the Grace of God and under the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the Constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.

"That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the Provisional Government.

"Now to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do under this protest and impelled by said force yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the Constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands."

"Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893.

(Signed)

LILIUOKALANI R.

(Signed)

SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

(Signed)

W.M. H. CORNWELL,
Minister of Finance.

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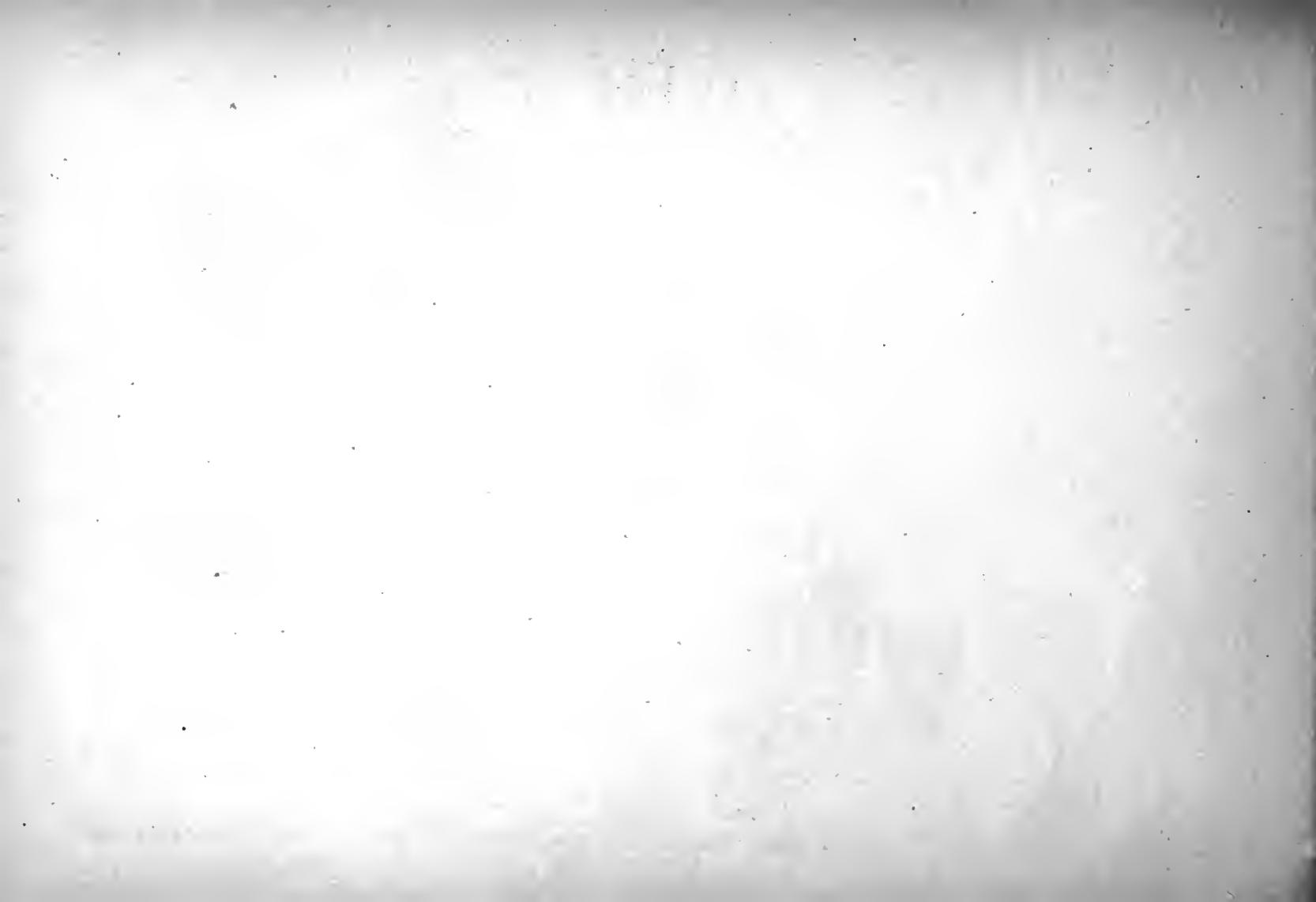
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Mr. Damon and the ex-ministers then returned to the Government Building with the Queen's protest, which was received by President Dole, and endorsed as follows:

"Received from the hands of the late Cabinet, this 17th day of January. 1893.

(Signed) SANFORD B. DOLE,
*Chairman of the Executive Council of the
Provisional Government."*

Before endorsing it, he said to his colleagues, "here is a statement which they want to file, and I see no objection to acknowledging its receipt."

It is now evident, however; that the acceptance of that protest without an express denial of the misleading allegation contained therein, was a grave political mistake. Little importance or significance was attached to it at the time by most people, but its consequences have been momentous and far reaching. If an unqualified surrender had been insisted upon at that time, even at the cost of a little bloodshed, it might have settled matters once for all on a solid basis.

While the terms of the Queen's surrender were being discussed at the Palace, President Dole wrote to Mr. Stevens, suggesting the co-operation of the United States troops with the citizen volunteers during the night in preserving order. The letter was as follows;

GOVERNMENT BUILDING,
HONOLULU, January 17, 1893.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN L. STEVENS, UNITED STATES MINISTER RESIDENT.

Sir:—I acknowledge the receipt of your valued communication of this day, recognizing the Hawaiian Provisional Government, and express deep appreciation of the same. We have conferred with the Ministers of the late Government, and have made demand upon the Marshal to surrender the Station House. We are not actually in possession of the Station House, but as night is approaching and our forces may be insufficient to maintain order, we request the immediate support of the United States forces, and would request that the Commander of the United States forces take command of our military forces so that they may act together for the protection of the city.

Respectfully yours,
SANFORD B. DOLE,
Chairman of Executive Council.

Endorsed as follows:

The above request not complied with.

(Signed) STEVENS.

This request met with a prompt refusal from Capt. Wiltse, which again illustrates the strict neutrality observed by the

forces of the United States. The event proved the request to have been unnecessary.

SURRENDER OF THE STATION HOUSE AND BARRACKS.

About 7 p. m. the Queen's Ministers returned to the Station House, accompanied by Messrs. Neumann, E. C. Macfarlane, A. Rosa and others, and showed Marshal Wilson the Queen's protest, upon which he consented to surrender the place and the arms in his possession. About 7:30 p. m. it was formally delivered up to Messrs. J. H. Soper and J. A. McCandless, when a detachment of twenty riflemen under Capt. Ziegler marched in and took possession.

About the same time Capt. Nowlein, commander of the Queen's troops, reported to President Dole for orders, and was directed to keep his men and all their arms inside of the barracks for the night, and not to post guards as heretofore in the palace enclosure.

His men were paid off and disbanded on the evening of the 18th, when ninety Springfield rifles, seventy-five Winchesters, one Gatling gun and an Austrian field battery of eight pieces, with a large stock of ammunition were turned over to the Provisional Government.

The Queen left the Palace about 11 a. m. of Wednesday, the 18th, and retired to her private residence, known as Washington Place.

The Councils remained in session until 11 p. m. Tuesday

evening. The whole district was strictly patrolled by the citizen guards during the night.

RECOGNITIONS, ETC.

On the 18th of January, the Provisional Government was recognized as the *de facto* government of the Hawaiian Islands, by the diplomatic and Consular representatives of Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Chili, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Peru, Portugal, Russia and Spain. The representatives of Great Britain and Japan delayed their formal recognition until the 20th.

On the 19th, the U. S. force in Arion Hall was removed to much more commodious quarters in the Bishop premises on King Street, formerly called "Aigupita," which was for the time named "Camp Boston."

DISPATCH OF THE ANNEXATION COMMISSIONERS.

The closing scenes of the Legislature of 1892, and the attempted *Coup d'etat* of January 14, had convinced many conservative citizens that annexation to the United States was the only step that would secure permanent peace and prosperity to the Islands. It was the hope of annexation that gave unity and confidence to the supporters of the revolution, and had been declared to be its ultimated object in the proclamation of the Provisional Government. Besides as



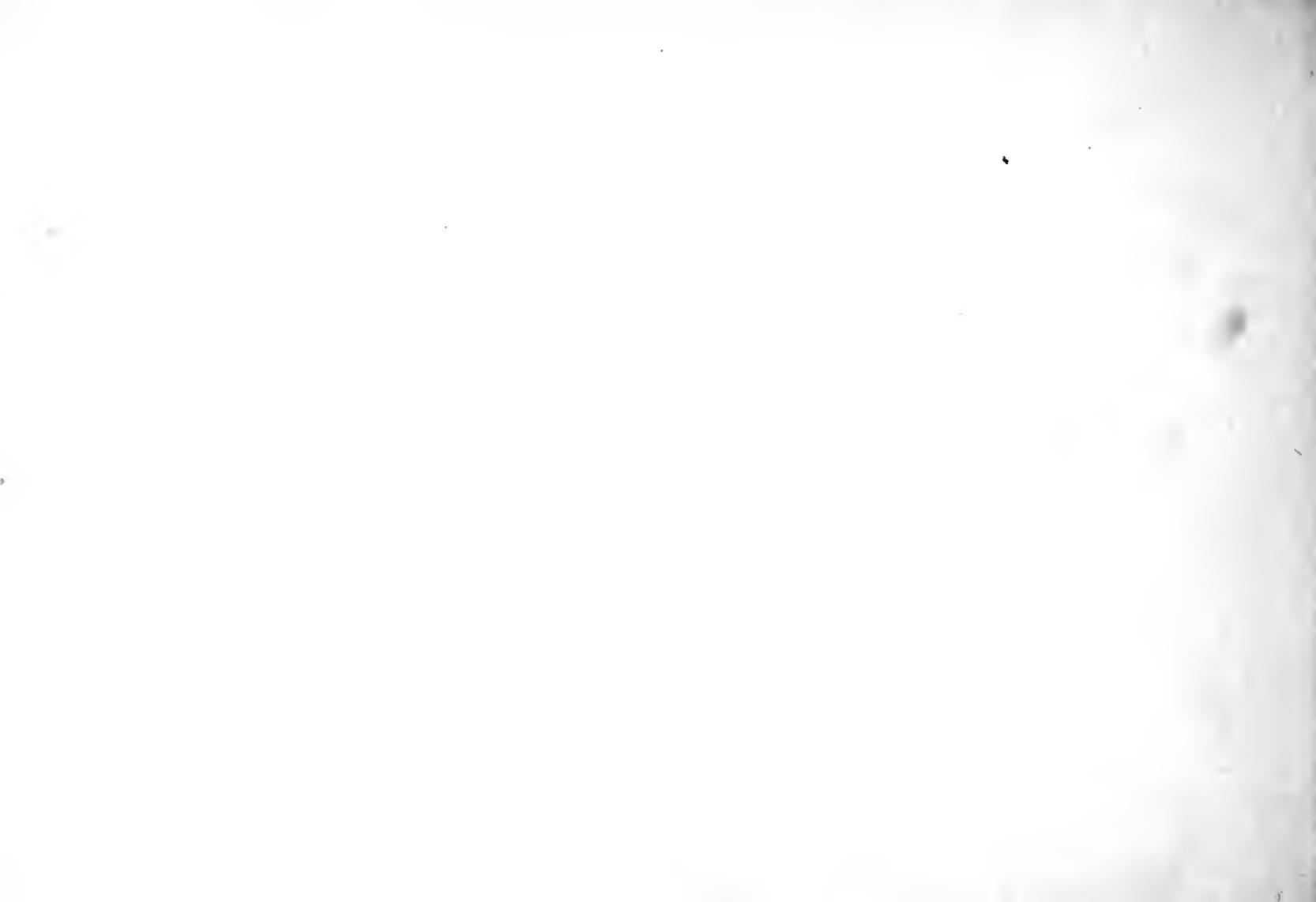
L. A. THURSTON.

W. C. WILDER.

W. R. CASTLE

J. MARSDEN.

C. L. CARTER



Senator Morgan has stated, "*speedy action* in completing the union was desirable for many obvious reasons, among which the injurious disturbance to commerce and danger to the public peace, growing out of a protracted agitation of so grave a matter, are conspicuous." Accordingly it was decided to dispatch the steamer *Claudine* at once to San Francisco with a Commission, empowered to negotiate a treaty of union with the United States. She sailed from Honolulu in the morning of Thursday, the 19th of January for San Francisco with the special Commission to Washington on board, which consisted of Messrs. L. A. Thurston, W. C. Wilder, W. R. Castle, J. Marsden and C. L. Carter. The Queen was allowed to send letters by the same vessel, but a passage on it was denied her envoys. Many prominent citizens were present at the Wilder dock to bid them God speed, and on the departure of the vessel, three hearty cheers were given for the Commission.

The voyage was prosperous and on the morning of January 28, the Commission landed in San Francisco, leaving on the following day for Washington.

Among the first acts of the Provisional Government was the repeal of the Lottery act and of the Opium License law, which had been signed by the Queen January 13. Measures were promptly taken for organizing the National Guard of Hawaii. Strong guards of Volunteers were kept up at the Government building as well as at the Palace, the barracks and police station, and regular street patrols were main-

tained. Recruits flowed in steadily, without any special effort to obtain them.

THE PROTECTORATE.

So far the government had been sustained and good order preserved by the voluntary services of the best citizens of Honolulu. Time was needed to form a new police force and to organize and drill a small body of regular troops. Meanwhile the incessant agitation and the alarming rumors kept up by the opponents of the Government produced a general feeling of uneasiness. Besides this, there was pressure from without. As Mr. Stevens afterwards stated before a Committee of the United States Senate, the Japanese Consul-General had lost no time in demanding of the new Government the right of suffrage for Japanese subjects in the Islands, and had sent a request to his government by the *Claudine* for a powerful cruiser, in addition to the training ship *Kongo*. A British ship of war was expected by the British Commissioner, who strongly opposed the project of annexation to the United States. It was believed that any outbreak, even if it was promptly crushed, would give color to the assertion at Washington that affairs in Hawaii were in a chaotic state, and that the Provisional Government had no stable authority. The strain on the Executive Council was severe.

Accordingly on January 31, it was decided to request Min-

ister Stevens "to raise the flag of the United States for the protection of the Hawaiian Islands, for the time being," * * * "but not interfering with the administration of public affairs by this government."

In accordance with the terms of this request, at 8:30 A. M., February 1st, Capt. Wiltse proceeded to the Government building, and a few moments later the battalion of the U. S. S. *Boston* under Lieut. Com. Swinburne, marched up the street, entered the grounds, and drew up in front of the building.

Detachments from the three volunteer Companies A, B and C were drawn up in line, under the command of their respective captains, Ziegler, Gunn and Camara. Just before 9 o'clock Lieut. Rush read in a loud voice the following proclamation, and punctually at 9 o'clock, amid the breathless silence of all present, the flag, saluted by the troops, and by the cannon of the *Boston*, was raised above the tower of Aliiolani Hale.

The following is the text of the proclamation:

"TO THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE:

At the request of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, I hereby, in the name of the United States of America, assume protection of the Hawaiian Islands for the protection of life and property, and occupation of public buildings and Hawaiian soil, so far as may be necessary for the purpose specified, but not interfering with the

administration of public affairs by the Provisional Government.

This action is taken, pending, and subject to, negotiations at Washington.

JOHN L. STEVENS,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

United States Legation, February 1, 1893.

Approved and executed by

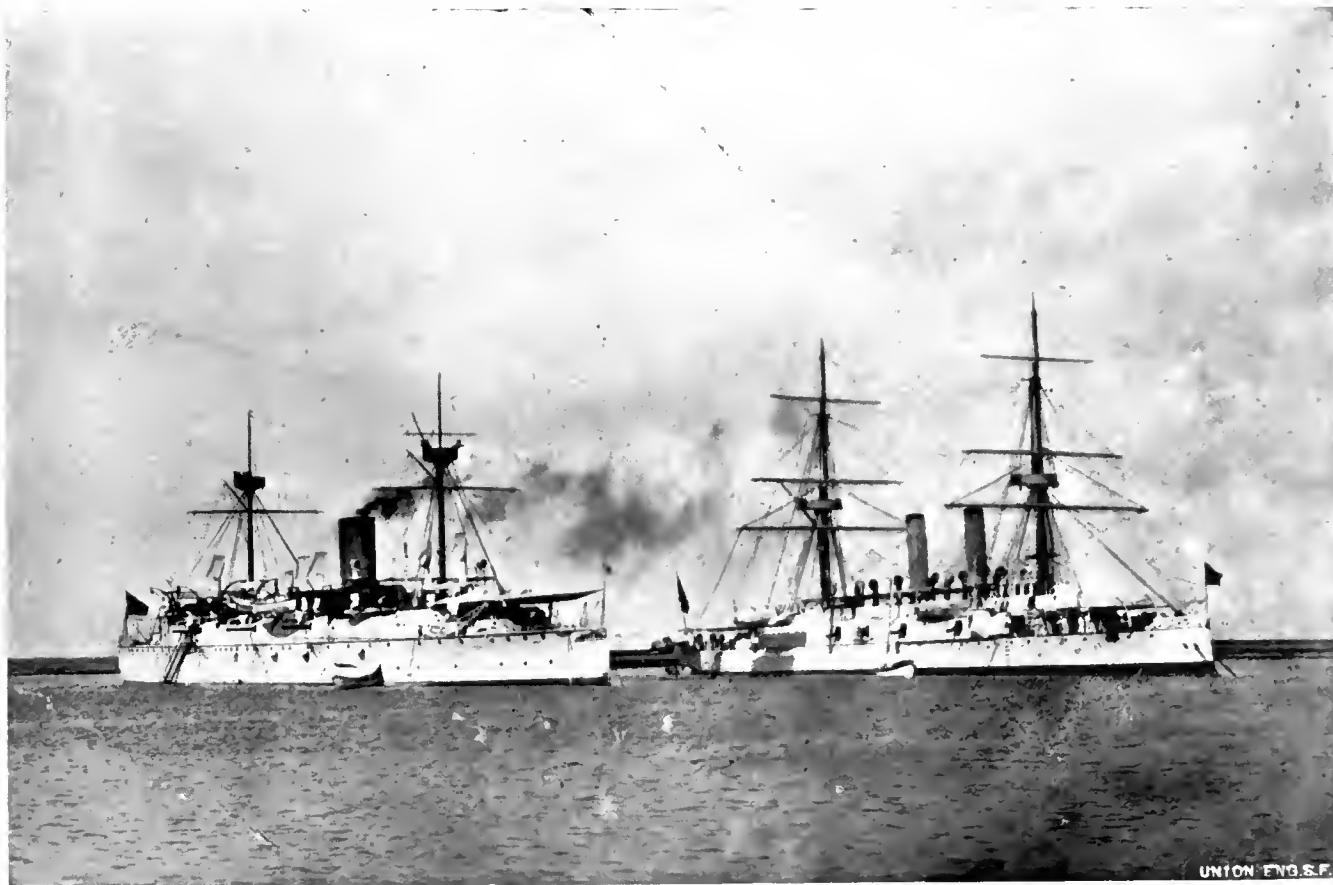
G. C. WILTSE, Capt. U. S. N.,

Commanding the United States Ship Boston."

(From "Two Weeks of Hawaiian History.")

"The custody of the Government building was then turned over to Lieut. Draper with his company of 25 marines. The American flag floated from the tower of the Government building, while the Hawaiian flag continued to float from the flag staff in the grounds.

"The wisdom of the Government's course, in requesting the protectorate, was justified by the result. A general feeling of relief spread itself throughout the community. The maintenance of the citizen soldiers, many of whom could ill spare the strength and time, which they required for their daily bread had been somewhat burdensome. While these soldiers were willing to support the Government as long as necessary, most of them were glad to be able to



H. I. J. M. S. NANIWA.

U. S. S. BOSTON.

UNION ENG. CO.



return to their ordinary occupations. The power of the Provisional Government to maintain itself against all comers was never doubted for a moment, but it was naturally felt that the safest course was to be in constant readiness for an attack, even though the probability of any being made might be very small. As a matter of fact, it is not likely that an armed attempt to overthrow the government would have been made.

"On Sunday, the 5th of February, martial law was abrogated and the right of the writ of habeas corpus restored. No use had been made of its suspension, and no political arrests of any kind were found necessary."

Although, as stated above, the protectorate gave the country two months of profound peace and security from internal as well as external dangers, it no doubt prejudiced the cause of annexation at Washington, and tended to place the Provisional Government in a false light.

In a letter by the U. S. Secretary of State, Hon. John W. Foster, to Minister Stevens, dated February 11th, he defines the limits of the protectorate as follows:

"So far, therefore, as your action amounts to according, at the request of the *de facto* Sovereign Government of the Hawaiian Islands, the co-operation of the moral and material forces of the United States for the protection of life and property from apprehended disorders, your action is commended. But so far as it may appear to overstep the limit by setting the authority and power of the United

States above that of the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, in the capacity of protector, or to impair in any way the independent sovereignty of the Hawaiian Government by substituting the flag and power of the United States as the symbol and manifestation of paramount authority, it is disavowed."

Mr. Stevens claimed that what had actually been done was in exact accordance with the above dispatch, and said "there was no period in which I was more unconnected with internal affairs than in that period when the flag was up."

H. B. M. ship *Garnet*, Capt. Hughes-Hallet, R. N., arrived February 12th, and the Japanese protected cruiser *Naniwa Kan*, arrived on February 28th, the latter vessel remaining until May 11th. The attitude of the officers of these two ships while in port was such as to fully justify the existing protectorate as a measure of precaution.

CHAPTER IV.

NEGOTIATIONS AT WASHINGTON.

The five Commissioners of the Provisional Government arrived at Washington, February 3d, and were well received by the administration. The favor with which their mission

was received by the press and people of the United States surpassed all expectation, and the impression then made has never been effaced. The Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco and the Legislatures of several states passed resolutions in favor of annexation.

They had official interviews with the Secretary of State on the 4th, 7th and 9th of February, and were introduced to President Harrison on the 11th. Hon. C. R. Bishop and W. A. Kinney joined them at Washington, and gave them valuable assistance, both by their influence and their counsel. President Harrison and his Cabinet devoted much time and study to the subject of the proposed treaty of annexation, giving it precedence over other business for the time.

On the 7th, Secretary Foster informed the Commissioners that the Cabinet had decided to proceed immediately with the negotiation of the treaty of annexation, which they had reason to believe would be ratified by the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate. The financial provisions necessary for carrying out the treaty might be left to be acted upon by the House of Representatives at a later period. Accordingly the treaty was drawn up by the Secretary and the Hawaiian Commissioners, and signed on the 14th of February. In drafting this treaty it was sought to accomplish its main object without infringing on the legislative prerogatives of Congress, to avoid arousing unnecessary opposition in that branch of the government. Hence it reserved to Congress the determination of all questions relat-

ing to the future form of government of the annexed territory, the manner and terms under which the revenue and navigation laws of the United States were to be extended to it, etc., but provided that until Congress should legislate on these subjects, the existing government and laws of the Hawaiian Islands should be continued in force.

On this point President Harrison expressed himself as follows: "This legislation should be, and, I doubt not, will be not only just to the natives and all other residents of the islands, but should be characterized by great liberality and, a high regard to the rights of the people and of all foreigners domiciled there."

The treaty made a liberal provision for the deposed Queen Liliuokalani, and the Princess Kaiulani. It was laid before the Senate for its concurrence on the 17th of February, and was in the following terms:

"The United States of America and the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, in view of the natural dependence of those islands upon the United States, of their geographical proximity thereto, of the intimate part taken by the citizens of the United States in their implanting the seeds of Christian civilization, of the long continuance of their exclusive reciprocal commercial relations whereby their mutual interests have been developed, and the preponderant and paramount share thus acquired by the United States and their citizens in the productions, industries and trade of the said Islands, and especially in view of the desire

expressed by the said Government of the Hawaiian Islands that those Islands shall be incorporated into the United States as an integral part thereof and under sovereignty, in order to provide for and assure the security and prosperity of the said islands, the High Contracting Parties have determined to accomplish by treaty an object so important to their mutual and permanent welfare.

To this end the High Contracting Parties have conferred full power and authority upon their respectively appointed Plenipotentiaries, to wit :

The President of the United States of America, John W. Foster, Secretary of State of the United States ; and

The President of the Executive and Advisory Councils of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, Lorrin A Thurston, William R. Castle, William C. Wilder, Charles L. Carter and Joseph Marsden ;

And the said Plenipotentiaries, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles :

ARTICLE I.

The Government of the Hawaiian Islands hereby cedes, from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, absolutely and without reserve to the United States forever all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and over the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies, renoun-

cing in favor of the United States every sovereign right of which as an independent nation it is now possessed ; and henceforth said Hawaiian Islands and every island and key thereunto appertaining and each and every portion thereof shall become and be an integral part of the territory of the United States

ARTICLE II.

The Government of the Hawaiian Islands also cedes and transfers to the United States the absolute fee and ownership of all public, government or crown lands, public buildings or edifices, ports, harbors, fortifications, military or naval equipments and all other public property of every kind and description belonging to the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining. The existing laws of the United States relative to public lands shall not apply to such lands in the Hawaiian Islands, but the Congress of the United States shall enact special laws for their management and disposition : Provided, that all revenue from or proceeds of the same, except as regards such part thereof as may be used or occupied for the civil, military or naval purposes of the United States or may be assigned to the local use of the Government, shall be used solely for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands for educational and other public purposes.

ARTICLE III.

Until Congress shall otherwise provide, the existing Government and laws of the Hawaiian Islands are hereby continued, subject to the paramount authority of the United States. The President, by and with the consent of the Senate, shall appoint a Commissioner to reside in said Islands who shall have the power to veto any act of said Government, and an act disapproved by him shall thereupon be void and of no effect unless approved by the President.

Congress shall, within one year from the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, enact the necessary legislation to extend to the Hawaiian Islands the laws of the United States respecting duties upon imports, the internal revenue, commerce and navigation; but until Congress shall otherwise provide, the existing commercial relations of the Hawaiian Islands, both with the United States and foreign countries shall continue as regards the commerce of said Islands with the rest of the United States and with foreign countries, but this shall not be construed as giving to said Islands the power to enter into any new stipulation or agreement whatsoever or to have diplomatic intercourse with any foreign government. The consular representatives of foreign powers now resident in the Hawaiian Islands shall be permitted to continue in the exercise of their consular

functions until they can receive their exequaturs from the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE IV.

The further immigration of Chinese laborers into the Hawaiian Islands is hereby prohibited until Congress shall otherwise provide. Furthermore, Chinese persons of the classes now or hereafter excluded by law from entering the United States will not be permitted to come from the Hawaiian Islands to other parts of the United States, and if so coming shall be subject to the same penalties as if entering from a foreign country.

ARTICLE V.

The public debt of the Hawaiian Islands, lawfully existing at the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, including the amounts due to depositors in the Hawaiian Postal Savings Bank, is hereby assumed by the Government of the United States; but the liability of the United States in this regard shall in no case exceed three and one quarter millions of dollars. So long, however, as the existing Government and the present commercial relations of the Hawaiian Islands are continued, as herein before provided, said Government shall continue to pay the interest on said debt.

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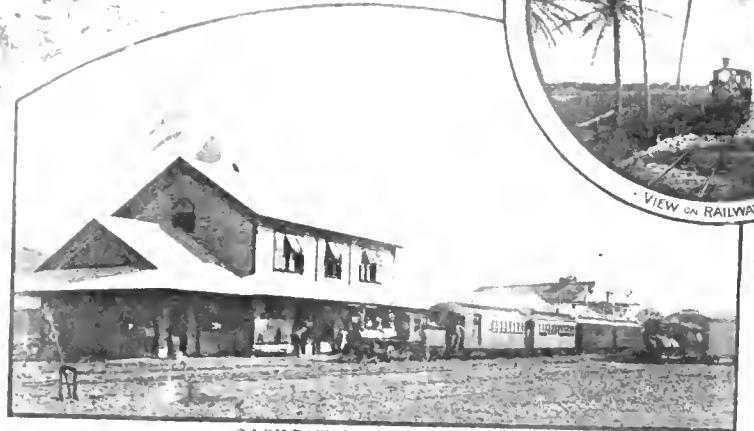
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PINE-APPLE RANCH



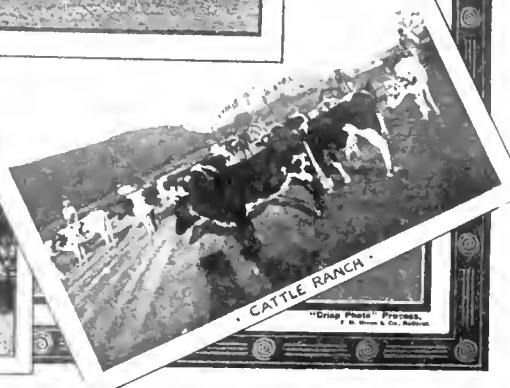
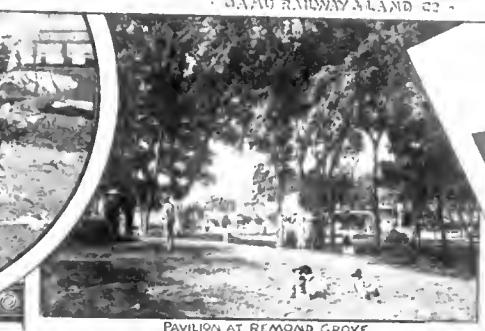
BANANA TREE



OAHU RAILWAY & LAND CO.



VIEW ON RAILWAY



"Crisp Photo" PROCESS.
F. M. Remond & Co., Honolulu.



ARTICLE VI.

The Government of the United States agrees to pay to Liliuokalani, the late Queen, within one year from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty the sum of Twenty Thousand Dollars, and annually thereafter a like sum of twenty thousand dollars during the term of her natural life, provided she in good faith submits to the authority of the Government of the United States and the local Government of the Islands.

And the Government of the United States further agrees to pay to Princess Kaiulani within one year from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty the gross sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, provided she in good faith submits to the authority of the Government of the United States and the local Government of the Islands.

ARTICLE VII.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the one part, and by the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands on the other, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Honolulu as soon as possible. Such exchange shall be made on the part of the United States by the Commissioner hereinbefore provided

for, and it shall operate as a complete and final conveyance to the United States of all the rights and property herein ceded to them. Within one month of such exchange of ratifications the Provisional Government shall furnish said Commissioner with a full and complete schedule of all the public property herein ceded and transferred.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the above articles and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate at the city of Washington this fourteenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and ninety three.

JOHN W. FOSTER, [SEAL]
LORRIN A. THURSTON, [SEAL]
WILLIAM R. CASTLE, [SEAL]
WILLIAM C. WILDER, [SEAL]
CHARLES L. CARTER, [SEAL]
JOSEPH MARSDEN. [SEAL]

The Treaty was favorably reported upon by the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Senator Morgan is the chairman, and was favored by a large majority of the Senate. It was, however, so near the close of the Congressional term that it was impossible to press the matter to a vote, or even to gain time for a discussion of it in the executive session. It had to be left as a legacy to the next administration. Nor was it long before certain adverse influences began to manifest their presence in Congress.

THE MISSION OF PAUL NEUMANN.

The ex-Queen had sent a letter to President Harrison on the 19th of January, by the *Claudine*, requesting that no steps should be taken by the Government of the United States until her side of the case had been heard. On the 2d of February, she dispatched two commissioners by the *Australia*, to represent her cause at Washington, viz., Mr. Paul Neumann and the young prince David Kawanananakoa. They were accompanied to Washington and back to Honolulu by Mr. E. C. Macfarlane, one of the ablest of her adherents.

Paul Neumann carried with him not only a commission as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, but also a power of attorney, authorizing him in the first place, to negotiate with the United States Government for "such *official* or other consideration, benefit or advantage" as could be obtained from the United States for herself and Kaiulani; and secondly; if "no *official* consideration" for herself or Kaiulani should be attainable, then to arrange for "such *pecuniary* considerations, benefits and advantages," as could be secured for herself and Kaiulani from the United States, and to execute in her name whatever releases and acquittances of all her "claims to the throne of the Hawaiian Islands" might be requisite to secure such pecuniary consideration.

Mr. Neumann also took with him a letter signed by the

ex-Queen on the 31st of January, addressed to the President elect, Hon. Grover Cleveland, in which she asked for his "friendly assistance in granting redress for a wrong which we claim has been done to us, under color of the assistance of the naval forces of the United States in a friendly port." As her attorney, he had skillfully drawn up a *precis* or statement of the circumstances attending the revolution, to support this contention that the Queen's surrender had been compelled by the forces of the U. S. ship *Boston*. In this document he made the following statement in regard to the events succeeding the revolution:

"This state of things was only made possible by the armed support of the United States troops ashore and the guns of the U. S. warship *Boston*, trained on the town. The usurpation of authority would not have lasted an hour without such armed support and encouragement by the United States Minister.

As a logical sequence to these events, the lawless and criminal foreign element, armed by the usurpers, and paid to terrorize the natives and law abiding citizens, now displayed a mutinous spirit, and the Provisional Government was compelled to call upon the American Minister to assume a protectorate, and to disband its armed force, which was accomplished on February 1st. This fact alone demonstrates that the so-called Provisional Government has no strength of its own, either to preserve the peace or to enforce obedience to its edicts."



PAUL NEUMAN



MRS. DOMINIS

VICTORIA
KAIULANI

THEO. H. DAVIES.



LATE
J.O. DOMINIS



The ex-Queen's commissioners left San Francisco, February 11th, reaching Washington on the 17th. Mr. Macfarlane and Prince David at once proceeded to New York to present her autograph letter, together with a copy of Mr. Neumann's *precis* to the President elect.

On their arrival there they had an interview with Mr. O'Brien; his private secretary, through whom they sent the documents to Mr. Cleveland at Lakewood.

He immediately caused the *precis* to be published in the *New York World*. It is evident that his mind was deeply impressed at the outset with the belief that the late revolution was the result of a deeply-laid conspiracy, aided and abetted by the United States Minister and Capt. Wiltse of the *Boston*.

The influence of the President-elect soon began to be felt in the attitude of the Democratic Senators towards the treaty. Hostility to it also began to be expressed by Democrats in the House of Representatives. Mr. Neumann had an interview on the 21st with Secretary Foster, to whom he presented a copy of his statement and also sent another copy to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

THE MISSION OF THEO. H. DAVIES AND KAIULANI.

Meanwhile another party appeared upon the scene. The Princess Kaiulani, daughter of Gov. Archibald Cleghorn of Honolulu, and the Princess Likelike, the younger sister of

Liliuokalani, was heiress presumptive to the throne of Hawaii. She was seventeen years of age and had been residing for some years in England for her education, under the guardianship of Theophilus H. Davies, Esq., a gentleman who had amassed a large fortune in mercantile pursuits in Honolulu.

On hearing of the deposition of the Queen, Mr. Davies at once took active steps in the interest of his royal ward. While fully admitting the justice of the Queen's deposition, he protested against annexation, and proposed a Regency in the name of Kaiulani, with Mr. Dole at its head, to administer the Government for three years, after which Kaiulani should be installed as Queen.

Mr. Davies embarked with the youthful princess from Liverpool, February 22d, arriving at New York, March 1st. They immediately issued the following poetical manifesto:

"TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

Unbidden I stand upon your shores to-day, where I thought so soon to receive a royal welcome on my way to my own Kingdom. I come unattended, except by loving hearts that come with me over the wintry seas. I hear that commissioners from my own land have been for many days asking this great nation to take away my little vineyard. They speak no word to me, and leave me to find out as I can from the rumors in the air, that they would leave me without a home, or a name or a nation.

Seventy years ago, Christian Ameriea sent over Christian men and women to give religion and civilization to Hawaii. They gave us the gospel. They made us a nation, and we learned to love and trust America. To-day, three of the sons of those missionaries are at your capitol, asking you to undo their father's work. Who sent them? Who gave them authority to break the constitution which they swore they would uphold?

To-day, I, a poor, weak girl, with not one of my people near me, and with all these Hawaiian statesmen against me, have strength to stand up for the rights of my people. Even now I can hear a wail in my heart, and it gives me strength and courage, and I am strong—strong in the faith of God, strong in the knowledge that I am right, strong in the strength of 70,000,000 of people, who in this free land will hear my cry, and will refuse to let their flag cover dishonor to mine."

(Signed)

KAIULANI.

This proceeding on the part of Mr. Davies was entered upon without consulting Liliuokalani, and was deprecated by her envoys, who feared that it would prejudice their cause with the American people. Mr. Davies and his ward arrived at Washington, March 8th, where he was accorded a friendly hearing by the President, which inspired him with hope and confidence. The Princess was cordially received at the White House on the 13th, and seems to have won the heart

of her gracious hostess. She published her farewell address to the people of the United States, March 21st, and sailed the same day for Liverpool.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE TREATY.

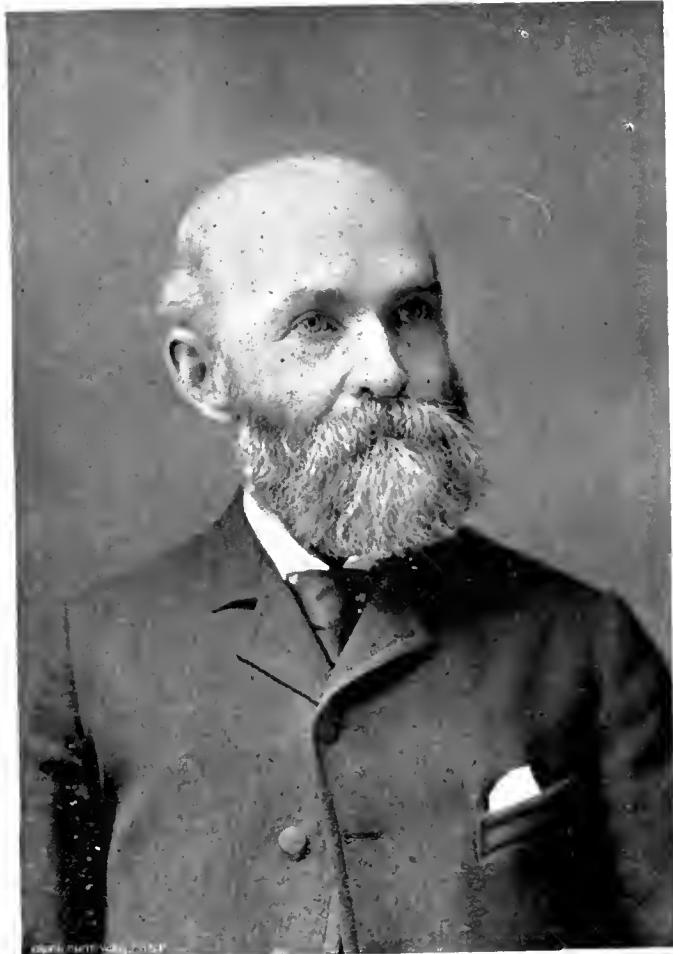
The President was inaugurated on Saturday, March 4, 1893. On Monday, the 6th, the Senate met in special session to confirm the appointment of his Cabinet. On Thursday, the 9th, the Senate held its next session, when the President sent in a message, withdrawing from their consideration the treaty negotiated with Hawaii. This he did without assigning any reasons or stating his intentions.

The new Secretary of State, Mr. Gresham, told Commissioner Thurston on the 10th, that "with insignificant knowledge of facts and of detail, they desired time for consideration of the subject, and the treaty had been withdrawn for that purpose." On the same day he intimated to Admiral Brown his impression that "some kind of a job was mixed up in the matter."

On the same day Secretary Hoke Smith telegraphed to Mr. Blount of Macon, Georgia, asking him to "come prepared for a confidential trip of great importance" to Honolulu. From that day on the President became inaccessible to the Hawaiian Commissioners, and from that time on they could obtain no information as to the intentions of the Administration concerning Hawaii.



HON. J. H. BLOUNT.



HIS EX-ALBERT S. WILLIS,
UNITED STATES MINISTER.



Messrs. Wilder and Marsden of the Hawaiian Commission speedily returned home. Mr. Castle followed later, arriving in Honolulu, April 7th, in company with the ex-Queen's commissioners and Mr. Nordhoff. Mr. C. L. Carter remained at Washington during Mr. Thurston's absence at Chicago; but the Secretary constantly declined to allow him any opportunity of making a statement on behalf of the Provisional Government. J. Mott Smith was superseded as Hawaiian Minister at Washington by Mr. L. A. Thurston, who was officially received as Minister by President Cleveland, June 9, 1895.

The President in replying to Thurston's address, said in part: "I beg to assure you that our people and Government are at all times willing and anxious to strengthen and multiply the ties of friendship which bind us to the people of Hawaii. To this end no effort on our part shall be neglected which is consistent with our traditional national policy, and which is not violative of that devotion to popular rights which underlies every American conception of free government."

CHAPTER V.

THE MISSION OF COMMISSIONER BLOUNT.

As already shown, President Cleveland was deeply impressed by the statements contained in the Queen's protest and in the *precis*, (drawn up by the same hand), to the effect

that she had yielded only to the superior force of the United States, and now appealed to his sense of justice to "undo a great wrong," in which he probably imagined that he saw the far reaching hand of his former rival for the Presidency. His suspicions were also excited by the haste with which the treaty had been negotiated during the last month of the preceding administration.

Accordingly he determined to send a special commissioner to investigate all the circumstances attending the late revolution, and to report on the expediency of annexation. For this important duty he chose the Hon. James H. Blount of Macon, Georgia, who had commanded a regiment in the confederate army during the civil war. For eighteen years he had served as a member of the House of Representatives, and during the 52d Congress had been Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in that body.

Mr. Blount received his written instructions March 11, just one week after President Cleveland's inauguration. The Secretary of State also verbally instructed him to remove the American flag which had been hoisted over the Government building in Honolulu. His instructions were as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 11th, 1895.

HON. JAMES H. BLOUNT, etc.

Sir:—The situation created in the Hawaiian Islands by the recent deposition of Queen Liliuokalani and the erection

of a Provisional Government demands the fullest consideration of the President, and in order to obtain trustworthy information on the subject, as well as for the discharge of other duties herein specified, he has decided to dispatch you to the Hawaiian Islands as his special commissioner, in which capacity you will herewith receive a commission and also a letter, whereby the President accredits you to the president of the executive and advisory councils of the Hawaiian Islands.

The comprehensive, delicate and confidential character of your mission can now only be briefly outlined, the details of its execution being necessarily left, in a great measure, to your good judgment and wise discretion.

You will investigate and fully report to the President all the facts you can learn respecting the condition of affairs in the Hawaiian Islands, the causes of the revolution by which the Queen's Government was overthrown, the sentiment of the people toward existing authority, and, in general, all that can fully enlighten the President touching the subjects of your mission.

To enable you to fulfill this charge, your authority in all matters touching the relations of this Government to the existing or other government of the Islands, and the protection of our citizens therein, is *paramount*, and in you alone, acting in co-operation with the commander of the naval forces, is vested full discretion and power to determine when such forces should be landed or withdrawn.

You are, however, authorized to avail yourself of such aid and information as you may desire from the present Minister of the United States at Honolulu, Mr. John L. Stevens, who will continue until further notice to perform the usual functions attaching to his office not inconsistent with the powers intrusted to you. An instruction will be sent to Mr. Stevens, directing him to facilitate your presentation to the head of the Government upon your arrival, and to render you all needed assistance.

The withdrawal from the Senate of the recently signed treaty of annexation, for re-examination by the President, leaves its subject-matter in abeyance, and you are not charged with any duty in respect thereto. It may be well, however, for you to dispel any misapprehension which its withdrawal may have excited touching the entire friendliness of the President and the Government of the United States toward the people of the Hawaiian Islands or the earnest solicitude here felt for their welfare, tranquillity and progress.

Historical precedents and the general course of the United States authorize the employment of its armed force in foreign territory for the security of the lives and property of American citizens, and for the repression of lawless and tumultuous acts threatening them; and the powers conferred to that end upon the representatives of the United States are both necessary and proper, subject always to the exercise of a sound discretion in their application.

In the judgment of the President, your authority, as well as that of the commander of the naval forces in Hawaiian waters, should be, and is, limited in the use of physical force to such measures as are necessary to protect the persons and property of our citizens; and while abstaining from any manner of interference with the domestic concerns of the Islands, you should indicate your willingness to intervene with your friendly offices in the interest of a peaceful settlement of troubles within the limits of sound discretion.

Should it be necessary to land an armed force upon Hawaiian territory on occasion of popular disturbance, when the local authority may be unable to afford adequate protection to the life and property of citizens of the United States, the assent of such authority should first be obtained, if it can be done without prejudice to the interests involved. Your power in this regard should not, however, be claimed to the exclusion of similar measures by the representatives of other powers for the protection of the lives and property of their citizens or subjects residing in the Islands.

While the United States claim no right to interfere in the political or domestic affairs or in the internal conflicts of the Hawaiian Islands otherwise than as herein stated, or for the purpose of maintaining any treaty or other rights which they possess, this Government will adhere to its consistent and established policy in relation to them, and it will not acquiesce in domestic interference by other powers.

The foregoing general exposition of the President's views

will indicate the safe courses within which your action should be shaped, and mark the limits of your discretion in calling upon the naval commander for co-operation.

The United States revenue cutter *Rush* is under orders to await you at San Francisco and convey you to Honolulu.

It is expected that you will use all convenient dispatch for the fulfillment of your mission, as it is the President's wish to have the results before him at the earliest possible day. Besides the connected report you are expected to furnish, you will from time to time, as occasion may offer, correspond with the Secretary of State, communicating information or soliciting special instruction on such points as you may deem necessary. In case of urgency you may telegraph, either in plain text or in the cipher of the Navy Department, through the kind offices of the admiral commanding, which may be sent to Mr. W. A. Cooper, United States dispatch agent at San Francisco, to be transmitted.

Reposing the amplest confidence in your ability and zeal for the realization of the trust thus confided to you.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

W. Q. GRESHAM.

No previous intimation was given to the Hawaiian Commissioners that the President intended to withdraw the treaty from the Senate, nor of the appointment or objects of Mr. Blount's mission.

In reply to repeated inquiries upon this point Mr. Gresham

ham positively refused to deny or admit even that Mr. Blount had gone to Hawaii.

Mr. Blount left Washington on the 14th, and tarrying only four hours in San Francisco, embarked March 20th on the revenue cutter *Richard Rush*, which lay there awaiting his orders, and landed in Honolulu on the morning of March 29th.

The royalists believed that he was coming in their interest, and formed a procession of native women with flags to meet him. The Queen's ex-chamberlain offered him her carriage to ride up in, which he properly declined. On the other hand, the annexationists had decorated the principal business streets with American flags. A committee of Americans tendered him a welcome, and offered him the use of a convenient residence. He declined to accept any favors from either party, and established himself at the so-called "Snow Cottage," attached to the Hawaiian Hotel, where he remained with his wife and secretary during the four months of his stay in Honolulu. He was probably not aware that this hotel was leased and managed in the interest of the Queen's party, for whom it was a favorite resort. On the day after his arrival, the 30th, he was introduced by Minister Stevens to President Dole, to whom he presented President Cleveland's letter accrediting him in the following language:

"GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND:—

I have made choice of James H. Blount, one of our distinguished citizens, as my special commissioner to visit the

Hawaiian Islands, and make report to me concerning the present status of affairs in that country. He is well informed of our sincere desire to cultivate and maintain to the fullest extent the friendship which has so long subsisted between the two countries, and in all matters affecting relations with the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, his authority is *paramount*. My knowledge of his high character and ability gives me entire confidence that he will use every endeavor to advance the interest and propriety of both governments and to render himself acceptable to your excellency.

"I therefore request your excellency to receive him favorably and to give full credence to what he shall say on the part of the United States and the assurances which I have charged him to convey to you of the best wishes of this Government for the prosperity of the Hawaiian Islands.

"May God have your excellency in His wise keeping.

"Written at Washington, this 11th day of March, in the year 1893.

(Signed)

GROVER CLEVELAND.

By the President:

W. Q. GRESHAM,

Secretary of State."

In a letter to Minister Stevens of the same date, Secretary Gresham informed him also that "in all matters pertaining to the existing or other Government of the Islands

the authority of Mr. Blount is *paramount*." A letter of the same date from the Secretary of the Navy to Rear Admiral Skerrett contains the following passage: "You will consult freely with Mr. Blount and will obey any instructions you may receive from him regarding the course to be pursued at said islands by the force under your command."

The question whether the President had a constitutional right to clothe his private agent, appointed without the knowledge or confirmation of the Senate, with these extraordinary powers, has since been fully debated in Congress.

THE HAULING DOWN OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.

On the afternoon of the 31st, Mr. Blount notified President Dole that he would order the ensign of the United States to be hauled down, and send the American troops on board of their respective vessels. At President Dole's request, he postponed action until next morning. The following peremptory order was then addressed to Rear Admiral Skerrett:

"Sir:—You are directed to haul down the United States ensign from the Government building and to embark the troops now on shore to the ships to which they belong. This will be executed at 11 o'clock on the 1st day of April.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) . . . JAS. H. BLOUNT,
Special Commissioner of the United States."

As the hour of 11 approached, a company of regular troops under Capt. Good and a company of volunteers, together with a detachment of artillery, marched over from the barracks and were drawn up in front of the Government building. At the same time a large concourse both of natives and foreigners had gathered in the adjoining streets. As the hand of the clock in the tower reached the appointed hour, at a sign from Lieut. Draper, the bugle sounded, on which the Stars and Stripes came down and the Hawaiian flag was raised in their place over the tower, amid dead silence. The troops of the Provisional Government presented arms, but no salute was fired, nor was any public declaration as to the import of this transaction read or published. The U. S. sailors and marines then marched out of the Government building and of their own quarters at "Camp Boston," and returned to their ships, while the troops of the Provisional Government marched in and took their places in the Legislative hall. The feeling of the spectators on both sides was intense but suppressed. The royalists knew that the change of flags did not of itself mean restoration, and they saw that the Provisional Government was still master of the situation. But they hoped that this act was only the first step on the way to restoration, and were therefore elated, while the annexationists were correspondingly depressed. In the United States this incident touched the popular heart, and kindled a feeling of indignation, which no subsequent explanation has been able to allay.

The same day Mr. Blount wrote to the Secretary of State, "The American Minister and Consul-General seem to be intense partisans for annexation. I do not yet see how they will embarrass me in the purposes of my mission."

MR. BLOUNT'S RECEPTION OF ROYALIST COMMITTEES, ETC.

On the afternoon of April 1, Mr. Blount received a committee of nineteen half-whites headed by Mr. John E. Bush, formerly envoy to Samoa under Kalakaua, who presented resolutions against annexation, praying "that the great wrong committed against us may be righted by the restoration of the independent autonomy and constitutional government of our Kingdom under our beloved Queen, Liliuokalani, in whom we have the utmost confidence as a conscientious and popular ruler."

Mr. Blount replied that he could only communicate the resolutions to the President; he could not discuss with them the objects of his mission or the purposes of his government.

Soon afterwards Mr. Blount gave audience to a committee of the Hui Kalaaina, (Hawaiian Political Association) composed of native Hawaiians, who presented a memorial asking for the restoration of the Queen.

Mr. Blount's comment on it was:

"There is no aspiration in it for the advancement of the right of the masses to participate in the control of public

affairs, but an eager, trustful devotion to the crown as an absolute monarchy."

On the 16th of April, Mr. Blount received similar resolutions presented by twelve Hawaiian ladies, representing the Hui Aloha Aina (Patriotic League).

"These," he says, "are strongly suggestive of blind devotion to arbitrary power vested in the crown, worn by a person of native blood. They seem to go very far in the matter of the capacity of these people for self government."

On the 7th of April, Messrs. Paul Neumann, David Kawanakoa and E. C. Macfarlane returned to Honolulu from their mission to Washington, and a grand feast was made in their honor. An unfounded report was immediately circulated that Mr. Blount would soon receive orders to restore the Queen.

Among their fellow passengers were Mr. Harold M. Sewell, Dr. Wm. Shaw Bowen, one of the editorial staff of the *New York World* and Mr. Chas. Nordhoff, correspondent of the *New York Herald*.

THE BOWEN-SEWELL EPISODE.

For several weeks after the hauling down of the American flag, Honolulu was a hot-bed of intrigues of all kinds. About the middle of April, both Commissioner Blount and the Administration at Washington were greatly disturbed by certain alleged proceedings on the part of Dr. Bowen.

It appears from his own testimony that Dr. Bowen, believing on the one hand that annexation was impracticable, and on the other that the restoration of the Queen would never be sanctioned by Congress, urged Mr. Paul Neumann to bring about a compromise between the Queen and the Provisional Government. The proposition was that the Queen should receive a liberal pension in consideration of her abdication of the throne in favor of the Provisional Government. Several conferences took place between Messrs. Bowen and Neumann on one side and President Dole on the other. The result was that President Dole informed Mr. Neumann that any proposition of the kind, duly authorized by the Queen, would receive respectful attention. On the 16th, Dr. Bowen explained the plan to Mr. Blount, who declined to express any opinion on it. The next morning Mr. Blount called on President Dole to ascertain how far the affair had gone, and told him that neither Dr. Bowen nor any one else except himself (Blount) was authorized to speak for the President of the United States.

Col. Claus Spreckels, having arrived on the 18th, called on the Queen on 20th, and encouraged her to hope for his support. The next day he informed Mr. Blount "that he suspected there was an effort at negotiation between the Queen and the Provisional Government, and that he had urged the Queen to withdraw her power of attorney from Paul Neumann."

On the 24th, after informing President Dole of his intention, Mr. Blount called on the Queen and questioned her in

regard to the alleged negotiations with the Provisional Government, plainly showing his disapprobation of them. She promised him that "she would not enter into any negotiations until the Government at Washington had taken action on the information derived through his report."

Mr. Blount told her that "one of the objects of his visit was to get all the facts connected with her dethronement and the disposition of the people of the Islands in relation to the present Government." She then remarked that much depended on Mr. Spreckels as to the future, and that if he should refuse to loan any money to the Government, it would go to pieces. At Mr. Blount's request, she told Wm. Aldrich to furnish him a list of those annexationists who had signed petitions for the lottery. A copy of this list is embodied in Mr. Nordhoff's letter to the *New York Herald* of April 25th, and much is made of it in Blount's report. The same day the Queen told Mr. Neumann that nothing would be done until the Government of the United States gave its decision, and asked him to return to her his power of attorney and his commission, which he did the next day. Dr. Bowen left on the *Australia*, April 26th. In consequence of Mr. Blount's dispatch No. 6, the following telegram was sent from Washington, dated May 9th, and received May 17th:

"To JAMES H. BLOUNT, American Commissioner, Honolulu.

Your report of April 26th received. The views therein expressed and the steps taken by you have the President's

approval. The President, having determined to recall Mr. Stevens, dispatch is forwarded to him to-day, directing him to turn over the Legation to you forthwith.

You are hereby appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Hawaiian Islands. Your commission bears date May 9th. You may take oath before Consul-General, and thereupon announce your appointment. While your acceptance permanently would greatly gratify the President, your wishes will control.

A new Consul-General will speedily be appointed. The representations of Bowen and Sewell are wholly unauthorized and repudiated by the President, who repeats that you alone are authorized to represent him in all matters embodied in the instructions given you before your departure for Hawaii.

(Signed)

W. Q. GRESHAM,
Secretary of State.

It should be stated here that both Mr. Bowen and Mr. Sewell positively deny having made any such false representations as implied above.

Mr. Stevens having tendered his resignation March 7th, had already notified Mr. Gresham that he should return to the United States on the 24th of May, which he did. On leaving the country he received the highest testimonials of esteem from his fellow citizens and from the Hawaiian Government.

"AMERICANS NOT PARTICIPATING."

On the 18th of April, Mr. Blount forbade the landing of troops from the *Boston* for the purpose of drilling, probably fearing that it might create an impression favorable to the Provisional Government. In his dispatch of April 26th, he used the following language:

"The *white race*, or what may be termed the Reform Party, constitute the intelligence and own most of the property in these islands, and are desperately eager to be a part of the United States on any terms rather than take the chances of being subjected to the control of the natives. With them we can dictate any terms."

On the 16th of May, Mr. Blount saw fit to publish in the Honolulu papers, his instructions of March 11th, as given above. To these he appended the following notice:

"While I shall abstain from interference with conflicting forces of whatever nationality, I will protect American citizens *not participating* in such conflict."

Under the circumstances the language was naturally interpreted by both parties as a plain intimation that an uprising of the royalists to overturn the existing government would be viewed with indifference by the Commissioner.

THE NORDHOFF LIBEL CASE.

Mr. Chas. Nordhoff ably executed the errand upon which he had been sent to the Islands. In comparison with him

the Queen's adherents were but tyros in the art of misrepresentation. At the same time his intimate relations with Commissioner Blount became a subject of general remark. At length the indignation aroused among the supporters of the Government was such that threats of personal violence were made by some rash individuals against Mr. Nordhoff. On being informed of it, the authorities at once took precautions for his protection. A letter of his to the *N. Y. Herald* having been republished in a Honolulu paper, he was threatened with several libel suits, and summoned May 22d, to appear before the Provisional Assembly to answer for the false statement that "most of the members" of that Assembly had signed petitions for the lottery.

The source of Mr. Nordhoff's information on this point has been indicated above. Upon this Mr. Blount called upon President Dole and protested against the action of the Council, saying that "Whatever information Mr. Nordhoff may have obtained carried with it an obligation of privacy, which I do not believe he would violate."

He further sent President Dole a letter in which he took the ground that an American citizen cannot be called to account in any foreign country for a libel published in the United States, and cited as a precedent, the case of Mr. Cutting, who was arrested at Juarez, Mexico, for a publication in Texas, in 1885, but was set free at the demand of the American Government. Mr. Nordhoff then made a written declaration that the republication in the Honolulu *Bulletin*

of his letters to the *N. Y. Herald* was without his knowledge and consent.

He also published a retraction and apology for untrue statements made in regard to Messrs. T. F. Lansing and F. W. McChesney, members of the Advisory Council, as well as to Mr. W. H. Hoogs. President Dole's reply to Commissioner Blount was in part as follows:

"Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd inst., relating to Mr. Nordhoff, and to state in reply that upon full consideration of the questions involved this Government has decided to take no criminal proceedings against Mr. Nordhoff for what was considered as contempt against the Advisory Council of this Government.

"In respect to the matters referred to in the Attorney-General's letter to Mr. Nordhoff, this Government does not propose to take any proceedings in contravention of the view of international law expressed by the United States Government in the Cutting case; but there is apparently this distinction to be noted in the two cases, viz., that Mr. Cutting was in the United States when he made the publication objected to by the Mexican Government, whereas Mr. Nordhoff, while in the Hawaiian Islands and under the jurisdiction of its courts, has written articles defamatory of this Government, which were published in the United States in a newspaper which is freely circulated in the Hawaiian Islands, and which articles have been republished here."

In a letter dated May 29, Mr. Blount writes: "I sug-

gested to President Dole and the Attorney-General, in conversation with them, that if Mr. Nordhoff was so obnoxious, they might possibly require him to leave the country." The Government, however, was not simple enough to step into any such trap.

"Indeed," he adds, "the whole proceeding in relation to him (Nordhoff) seems to have been animated by the spirit of crushing out all opposing opinions by forceful methods." To this charge the files of certain royalist papers for that year, filled as they are with the foulest abuse, are a sufficient reply. In hardly any other country would such publications have been tolerated.

On the 21st of June, Mr. Nordhoff left the Islands for his home in Coronado, California, where he continued his newspaper war against the Provisional Government. Early in the following November, while Mr. Blount's report was still locked up in the State Department, Mr. Nordhoff published portions of the testimony filed with Mr. Blount in the preceding May and June, by Messrs. C. T. Gulick and G. Troussseau, pretending that these were extracts from letters recently received by him from Honolulu.

CLAUS SPRECKELS' DEMAND.

During this period, Mr. Nordhoff was believed to be the mouth-piece of Col. Spreckels. After having labored in vain to persuade the leading sugar planters to join with him in

opposing annexation and to establish an independent oligarchy, Col. Spreckels decided in the latter part of May, 1893, that the time had come to strike a decisive blow for the restoration of the Queen.

The government treasury was very low when the revolution took place, military expenses since then had been very heavy, and the taxes would not begin to come in before July. The Wilcox Cabinet had been obliged in December, 1892, to borrow \$95,000 from Spreckels' Bank to meet withdrawals from the Postal Savings Bank, the notes for which became due June 1st. Besides this, the semi-annual interest on the London loan, amounting to \$30,000, which became due in July, had to be provided for. In this situation Col. Spreckels saw his opportunity, and although in February he had given the Cabinet to understand that he would not call for the principal as long as the interest was promptly paid, he made a sudden demand for the whole amount a few days before it became due.

On the 29th of May he had a conference with the Queen, in which he told her that the Provisional Government would fall to pieces in consequence of his demand, so that arms would not be required. He advised her to form a new cabinet, proclaim a new constitution, and declare martial law. There is no proof that Mr. Blount was in the secret.

On the afternoon of May 31st, Mr. P. C. Jones went out on the street and raised the \$95,000 for the government in



S. B. DOLE.

S. M. DAMON.

J. A. KING.

W. O. SMITH

half an hour. Not only was Mr. Spreckels paid in full to his intense disgust, but the \$30,000 of interest on the London debt was remitted by the mail of June 6th. On the 5th of June the Iolani Palace was formally occupied, with appropriate ceremonies, for the executive offices of the government and named the "Executive Building." The former government building became known as the "Judiciary Building."

CONSPIRACIES.

About this time the air was full of rumors of conspiracies which now appear to have been well founded.

On June 21st, Messrs. Crick, Sinelair and Walker were arrested and held for trial. Although the authorities failed to obtain sufficient evidence to convict them of conspiracy, it is now known by Mr. Walker's own confession, that a number of dynamite bombs were then manufactured which were concealed at the Queen's place, and it seems to be certain that she was accessory to the fact.

In view of this state of things, the Government took measures to put itself into an efficient state of defence. Four companies of volunteer soldiers were thoroughly organized, equipped and drilled, while a citizens' guard, numbering 700, was organized as a reserved force.

The continual agitation and disquiet led some of the supporters of the Government to demand the banishment of the Queen. President Dole, however, assured Mr. Blount "that

it was the purpose of the Government to take no extreme steps against any parties here, unless it should be to meet a forcible attack upon the Government."

MR. BLOUNT'S INVESTIGATIONS.

The main object of Mr. Blount's mission was carefully concealed from the Provisional Government and from Mr. Stevens. It was generally supposed by the Government and its friends that he had been sent to investigate and report upon their offer of annexation to the United States. Under this impression the Provisional Government afforded the Commissioner every facility in its power for obtaining information, and spared neither time nor expense in furnishing him with details on every subject bearing on that question. They never suspected his real object, which seems to have been to make out a case both against their title to govern and against the character of the former representative of his own government. They never dreamed that his investigations would be treated by President Cleveland as having been of the nature of a full and impartial trial of a supposed case between the Provisional Government and the deposed Queen, as submitted by both parties to the *arbitration* of the President of the United States.

All the essential elements of such a trial were lacking, in that the parties were not both notified that any case between them was being adjudicated, in that the subject-matter

of the inquiry was not communicated to them, unless secretly to the Queen's side, as seemed to be the case, and in that all the evidence was privately taken, giving no opportunity for either party to cross-examine witnesses or bring in rebutting evidence.

There was nothing judicial either in the methods employed or in the animus evinced by the correspondence and report of the Commissioner. Both are pervaded from beginning to end by a strange hostility to the American colony residing in the Islands.

In a letter to Secretary Gresham dated April 8th, after condemning American residents for "participating in affairs of the islands," while expecting to be protected by the United States, he continues, "My present impression is that the existing government owes its *being* and its *maintenance* to this perverted influence." This sounds the key-note to the whole report that follows, and shows that he had already, only a few days after landing, made up his mind on the subject which he was to investigate. In fact, he seems to have so completely prejudged the case as to be impervious to any evidence opposed to his predilections.

The Commissioner possessed some special qualifications for the difficult part which he had to play. Naturally reticent, he had an uncommon power of concealing his private sentiments and intentions, which has caused him to be accused of dissimulation. While the Queen's friends well knew that he was on their side, the supporters of the Provisional Gov-

ernment believed that, even if he was opposed to annexation, he appreciated the character and motives of the leaders in the late revolution.

He also showed no little shrewdness and adroitness as a prosecuting attorney, in his choice of witnesses, and in the preparation of questions, etc., to make out his case.

His method was to hold private interviews with individuals, who were examined by him in his private office, the questions and answers being taken down by his stenographer, Mr. Ellis Mills, and kept strictly secret. It is the general testimony of those whom he questioned that he carefully shut off any voluntary statements beyond the simplest replies to his leading questions. If any reply did not suit him, he would cross-examine the witness at great length, in order to modify or break the force of his first statement. He also received and filed numerous written statements, mostly from royalists, in some of which Mr. Nordhoff had a hand, and fifteen affidavits, all made by royalists.

The complaint is justly made that the Commissioner did not seek evidence from the leading members of the Committee of Safety, from the members of the Wilcox Cabinet or from Lieut. Swinburne and other officers of the U. S. S. *Boston*.

It was with much difficulty and apparent reluctance on his part that any hearing could be obtained for those honest and patriotic natives who had opposed the lottery bill, and their evidence was not recorded.

Nor was Minister Stevens informed of the charges against

him or given any opportunity to reply to them. Much of this suppressed evidence was afterwards brought out by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

It was with great reluctance that Mr. Blount accepted his appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, which, as before stated, reached him May 17. The nature of his report, however, was kept a profound secret until the middle of November. Weary of the false position in which he found himself, and for other private reasons, Mr. Blount embarked for the United States on the 8th of August.

Before leaving he wrote to Secretary Gresham, July 31, in part as follows :

"Dear Sir:—The condition of parties in the Islands is one of quiescence. The action of the United States is awaited by all as a necessity. * * * The present government can only rest on the use of military force, possessed of most of the arms in the Islands, with a small white population to draw from to strengthen it. Ultimately it will fall without fail. It may preserve its existence for a year or two, but no longer." In this "the wish," no doubt, "was father to the thought."

The United States continued to be represented by Rear-Admiral Skerrett at Honolulu.

MR. BLOUNT'S REPORT.

Mr. Blount's report, as might be expected, instead of being the dispassionate summing up of an impartial arbitrator, is

a piece of special pleading, supported by a mass of purely *ex parte* evidence.

This is not the place to review this document, and to point out its extraordinary perversions of history, and its bitter hostility to the party of civilization and progress in these islands. His sentiments in regard to the American colony in Hawaii are the same as those expressed by Governor McDuffie in regard to the Texans in 1836, viz., that "having emigrated to that country, they had forfeited all claim to fraternal regard," and that "having left a land of despotism with their eyes open, they deserved their fate."

On the future destiny of the Hawaiian Islands Mr. Blount does not vouchsafe a ray of light, except his remark that they are and must be "overwhelmingly Asiatic."

CHAPTER VI.

BY REV. S. E. BISHOP.

THE PRESIDENT'S ENDEAVOR TO RESTORE THE QUEEN.

An extra session of Congress was held in Washington from August 7th to November 3d. There was a general expectation that the President would give to Congress the results of Mr. Blount's inquiries, and recommend a course of policy towards Hawaii. But an impenetrable secrecy veiled the whole subject. Action was deferred until it would

be too late for Congress to interfere during the extra session. Then the President opened a new and very remarkable chapter in the history of Hawaii. During this period of uncertainty, the ex-Queen sent Mr. E. C. Macfarlane on a secret mission to Washington. Arriving there September 10th, he was granted long and confidential interviews both with Mr. Blount and the Secretary of State, and thus was enabled to bring back exclusive information in regard to the secret views of the Administration.

Late in September the Hon. Albert S. Willis of Louisville, Kentucky, was summoned to Washington, where he received his appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Hawaii. His credentials were dated September 27th. He was for three weeks in frequent intercourse with the President and Secretary of State, and became fully possessed of their views, as well as familiar with the matter of Blount's Report. Mr. Willis had been in Congress from 1876 to 1886. October 18th, he received his final instructions, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, October 18th, 1893.

Sir:—Supplementing the general instructions which you have received with regard to your official duties, it is necessary to communicate to you, in confidence, special instructions for your guidance in so far as concerns the relation of

the Government of the United States towards the *de facto* Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

The President deemed it his duty to withdraw from the Senate the treaty of annexation which has been signed by the Secretary of State and the agents of the Provisional Government, and to dispatch a trusted representative to Hawaii to impartially investigate the causes of the so-called revolution and ascertain and report the true situation in those Islands. This information was needed the better to enable the President to discharge a delicate and important public duty.

The instructions given to Mr. Blount, of which you are furnished with a copy, point out a line of conduct to be observed by him in his official and personal relations on the Islands, by which you will be guided so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with what is herein contained.

It remains to acquaint you with the President's conclusions upon the facts embodied in Mr. Blount's reports and to direct your course in accordance therewith.

The Provisional Government was not established by the Hawaiian people, or with their consent or acquiescence, nor has it since existed with their consent. The Queen refused to surrender her powers to the Provisional Government until convinced that the minister of the United States had recognized it as the *de facto* authority, and would support and defend it with the military force of the United States, and

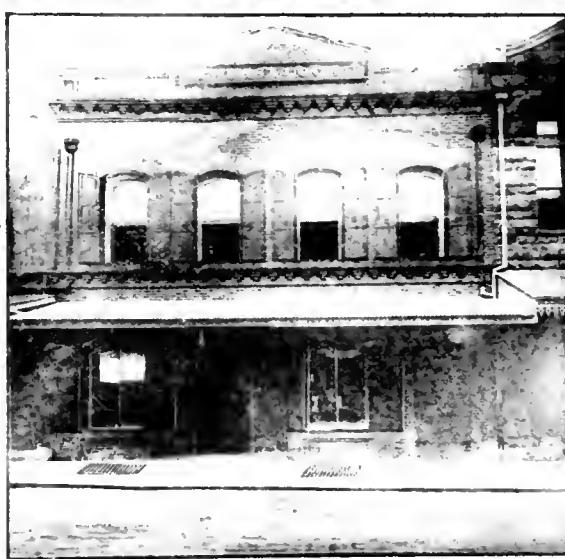
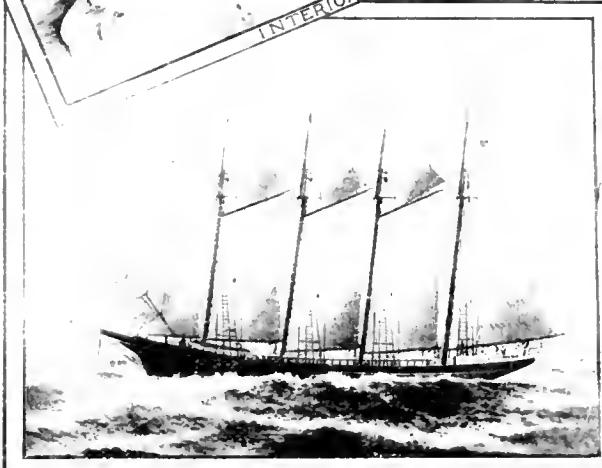
LEWERS & COOKE

LUMBER
DEALERS

HONOLULU

A.I.

INTERIOR.



EXTERIOR.

"Crisp Photo" Process.
F. W. Miers & Co., Battersea



that resistance would precipitate a bloody conflict with that force. She was advised and assured by her ministers and by leaders of the movement for the overthrow of her government, that if she surrendered under protest her case would afterwards be fairly considered by the President of the United States. The Queen finally wisely yielded to the armed forces of the United States then quartered in Honolulu, relying upon the good faith and honor of the President, when informed of what had occurred, to undo the action of the minister and reinstate her and the authority which she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

After a patient examination of Mr. Blount's report the President is satisfied that the movement against the Queen, if not instigated, was encouraged and supported by the representative of this Government at Honolulu; that he promised in advance to aid her enemies in an effort to overthrow the Hawaiian Government and set up by force a new government in the place, and that he kept this promise by causing a detachment of troops to be landed from the *Boston* on the 16th of January, and by recognizing the Provisional Government the next day when it was too feeble to defend itself, and the Constitutional Government was able to successfully maintain its authority against any threatening force other than that of the United States already landed.

The President has, therefore, determined that he will not send back to the Senate for its action thereon the treaty

which he withdrew from that body for further consideration on the 9th day of March last.

On your arrival at Honolulu you will take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the Queen of this determination, making known to her the President's sincere regret that the reprehensible conduct of the American minister and the unauthorized presence on land of a military force of the United States obliged her to surrender her sovereignty for the time being and rely on the justice of this Government to undo the flagrant wrong.

You will, however, at the same time inform the Queen that when reinstated the President expects that she will pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, including persons who are or have been officially or otherwise connected with the Provisional Government, depriving them of no right or privilege which they enjoyed before the so-called revolution. All obligations created by the Provisional Government in due course of administration should be assumed.

Having secured the Queen's agreement to pursue this wise and humane policy, which it is believed you will speedily obtain, you will then advise the executive of the Provisional Government and his ministers of the President's determination of the question which their action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that they are expected to promptly relinquish to her her constitutional authority.

Should the Queen decline to pursue the liberal course

suggested, or should the Provisional Government refuse to abide by the President's decision, you will report the facts and wait further directions.

In carrying out the general instructions, you will be guided largely by your own good judgment in dealing with the delicate situation.

I am, etc.,

W. Q. GRESHAM.

On the same day Mr. Gresham addressed an official letter to the President, in which he endorsed the conclusions of Mr. Blount's Report, and recommended the restoration of the Queen. This document with the Report, was kept strictly secret for one month longer, by which time it was fully expected that Mr. Willis would have successfully executed his mission. Gresham's letter was given to the press November 10th, and Blount's report on November 19th, both creating an extraordinary ferment in the United States.

Admiral Skerrett had written July 25th to the Secretary of the Navy that "the government they (the Provisional Government) now give the people is the best that they ever had. I believe in their eventual success and have implicit faith in them." On receipt of this, the Secretary reminded him of Blount's instructions, adding the words: "Protect American citizens and American property, but do not give aid physical or moral to either party contending for the Government at Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands." He was ordered to the China station in October, exchanging places

with Rear-Admiral John Irwin, who arrived at Honolulu, November 6th by the *China*.

Mr. Willis arrived at Honolulu, November 4th. A time had been carefully selected when there would be an interval of three weeks, during which the Islands would be cut off from communication with the United States. On the 7th, he formally presented his credentials to President Dole, in the following terms:

MR. PRESIDENT:

Mr. Blount, the late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to your Government, having resigned his office while absent from his post, I have the honor now to present his letter of recall, and to express for him his sincere regret that he is unable in person to make known his continued good wishes in behalf of your people and his grateful appreciation of the many courtesies of which, while here, he was the honored recipient.

I desire at the same time to place in your hands the letter accrediting me as his successor. In doing this I am directed by the President to give renewed assurances of the friendship, interest, and hearty good will which our Government entertains for you and for the people of this island realm.

Aside from our geographical proximity and the consequent preponderating commercial interests which centre here, the present advanced civilization and Christianization of your people, together with your enlightened codes of law, stand

to-day beneficial monuments of American zeal, courage and intelligence.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the United States were the first to recognize the independence of the Hawaiian Islands and to welcome them into the great family of free nations. The letter of credence was as follows:

GROVER CLEVELAND,
President of the United States of America.

To His Excellency SANFORD B. DOLE, President of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND :

I have made choice of Albert S. Willis, one of our distinguished citizens, to reside near the government of your excellency in the quality of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America. He is well informed of the relative interests of the two countries and of our sincere desire to cultivate, to the fullest extent, the friendship which has so long subsisted between us. My knowledge of his high character and ability gives me entire confidence that he will constantly endeavor to advance the interests and prosperity of both governments, and so render himself acceptable to your excellency.

I therefore request your excellency to receive him favorably and to give full credence to what he shall say on the part of the United States, and to the assurances which I have charged him to convey to you of the best wishes

of this Government for the prosperity of the Hawaiian Islands. May God have your excellency in His wise keeping.

Written at Washington, this 27th day of September, in the year 1893.

Your good friend,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

President Dole responded in a cordial strain.

The friendly tone of this language tended to lull apprehensions which had been felt of a possibly hostile errand of the new Minister. The royalists were otherwise informed, and their organs insisted that Mr. Willis had come to enforce by arms a demand for the Provisional Government to abdicate in favor of Liliuokalani. No intimation of such action found its way to the American press. British agents were better informed, and a London telegram reached Auckland, N. Z., November 2d, and Honolulu, November 16th, that "the President was drafting a message to Congress in favor of restoring monarchy to Hawaii." This was the first intimation received in Honolulu of the President's intentions. It was generally discredited. The British cruiser *Champion*, Capt. Cooke, arrived at Honolulu, November 24th, and the Japanese cruiser *Naniwa*, December 2d.

MR. WILLIS NEGOTIATES WITH THE EX-QUEEN.

Already had Mr. Willis begun the execution of his mission, but at the outset found his action obstructed by an

unforeseen obstacle. The ex-Queen firmly refused to concede amnesty to her opponents, as an indispensable preliminary to her restoration. By his request, the ex-Queen visited the Minister at the Legation on the 13th of November, and a short but important private interview ensued, as follows:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
HONOLULU, Nov. 16th, 1893.

MR. WILLIS TO MR. GRESHAM.

Sir :—In the forenoon of Monday, the 13th instant, by prearrangement, the Queen, accompanied by the royal chamberlain, Mr. Robertson, called at the Legation. No one was present at the half-hour interview which followed, her chamberlain having been taken to another room, and Consul-General Mills, who had invited her to come, remaining in the front of the house to prevent interruption.

After a formal greeting, the Queen was informed that the President of the United States had important communications to make to her and she was asked whether she was willing to receive them alone and in confidence, assuring her that this was for her own interest and safety. She answered in the affirmative.

I then made known to her the President's sincere regret that, through the unauthorized intervention of the United States, she had been obliged to surrender her sovereignty, and his hope that, with her consent and cooperation, the

wrong done to her and to her people might be redressed. To this, she bowed her acknowledgments.

I then said to her, "The President expects and believes that when reinstated you will show forgiveness and magnanimity; that you will wish to be the Queen of all the people, both native and foreign born; that you will make haste to secure their love and loyalty and to establish peace, friendship, and good government." To this she made no reply. After waiting a moment, I continued: "The President not only tenders you his sympathy but wishes to help you. Before fully making known to you his purposes, I desire to know whether you are willing to answer certain questions which it is my duty to ask?" She answered, "I am willing." I then asked her, "Should you be restored to the throne, would you grant full amnesty as to life and property to all those persons who have been or who are now in the Provisional Government, or who have been instrumental in the overthrow of your government?" She hesitated a moment and then slowly and calmly answered: "There are certain laws of my Government by which I shall abide. My decision would be, as the law directs, that such persons should be beheaded and their property confiscated to the Government." I then said, repeating very distinctly her words, "It is your feeling that these people should be beheaded and their property confiscated?" She replied, "It is." I then said to her, "Do you fully understand the meaning of every word which I have said to you, and of

every word which you have said to me, and, if so, do you still have the same opinion?" Her answer was, "I have understood and mean all I have said, but I might leave the decision of this to my ministers." To this I replied, "Suppose it was necessary to make a decision before you appointed any ministers, and that you were asked to issue a royal proclamation of general amnesty, would you do it?" She answered, "I have no legal right to do that, and I would not do it." Pausing a moment she continued, "These people were the cause of the revolution and constitution of 1887. There will never be any peace while they are here. They must be sent out of the country, or punished, and their property confiscated." I then said, "I have no further communication to make to you now, and will have none until I hear from my Government, which will probably be three or four weeks."

Nothing was said for several minutes, when I asked her whether she was willing to give me the names of four of her most trusted friends, as I might, within a day or two, consider it my duty to hold a consultation with them in her presence. She assented, and gave these names: J. O. Carter, John Richardson, Joseph Nawahi and E. C. Maefarlane.

I then inquired whether she had any fears for her safety, at her present residence, Washington Square. She replied that she did have some fears, that while she had trusty friends that guarded her house every night, they were armed

only with clubs, and that men shabbily dressed had been often seen prowling about the adjoining premises—a school-house with large yard. I informed her that I was authorized by the President to offer her protection either on one of our war ships or at the legation and desired her to accept the offer at once. She declined, saying she believed it was best for her at present to remain at her own residence. I then said to her that at any moment, night or day, this offer of our Government was open to her acceptance.

The interview thereupon, after some personal remarks, was brought to a close.

Upon reflection, I concluded not to hold any consultation at present with the Queen's friends, as they have no official position, and furthermore, because I feared, if known to so many, her declarations might become public, to her great detriment, if not danger, and to the interruption of the plans of our Government.

Mr. J. O. Carter is a brother of Mr. H. A. P. Carter, the former Hawaiian Minister to the United States, and is conceded to be a man of high character, integrity, and intelligence. He is about 55 years old. He has had no public experience. Mr. Maefarlane, like Mr. Carter, is of white parentage, is an unmarried man, about 42 years old, and is engaged in the commission business. John Richardson is a young man of about 35 years old. He is a cousin of Samuel Parker, the half-easte, who was a member of the Queen's cabinet at the time of the last revolution. He is a

resident of Maui, being designated in the directory of 1889 as "attorney at law, stock-raiser, and proprietor Bismarck livery stable." Richardson is "half-caste." Joseph Nawahi is a full-blooded native, practices law (as he told me) in the native courts, and has a moderate English education. He has served twenty years in the legislature, but displays very little knowledge of the structure and philosophy of the Government which he so long represented. He is 51 years old, and is president of the native Hawaiian political club.

Upon being asked to name three of the most prominent native leaders, he gave the names of John E. Bush, R. W. Wilcox, and modestly added, "I am a leader." John E. Bush is a man of considerable ability, but his reputation is very bad. R. W. Wilcox is the notorious half-breed who engineered the revolution of 1889. Of all these men Carter and Macfarlane are the only two to whom the ministerial bureaus could be safely entrusted. In conversation with Sam Parker, and also with Joseph Nawahi, it was plainly evident that the Queen's implied condemnation of the constitution of 1887 was fully indorsed by them.

From these and other facts which have been developed I feel satisfied that there will be a concerted movement in the event of restoration for the overthrow of that constitution, which would mean the overthrow of constitutional and limited government and the absolute dominion of the Queen.

The law referred to by the Queen is Chapter VI, Section 9 of the Penal Code, as follows:

"Whoever shall commit the crime of treason shall suffer the punishment of death, and all his property shall be confiscated to the Government."

There are, under this law, no degrees of treason. Plotting alone carries with it the death sentence.

I need hardly add, in conclusion, that the tension of feeling is so great that the promptest action is necessary to prevent disastrous consequences.

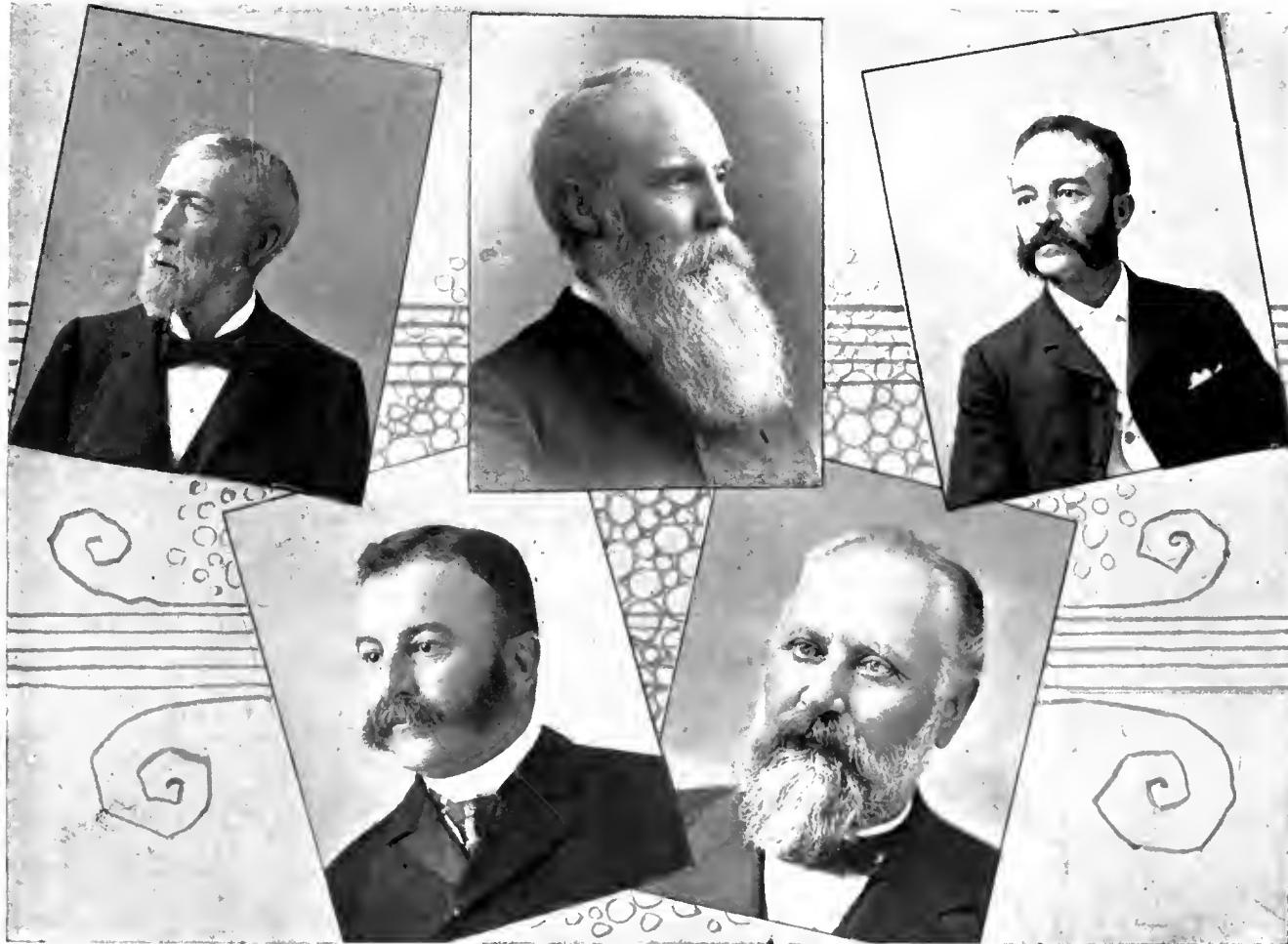
I send a cipher telegram asking that Mr. Blount's report be withheld for the present, and I send with it a telegram, not in cipher, as follows:

"Views of the first party so extreme as to require further instructions."

I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

In reporting the foregoing interview, Mr. Willis suggested to Mr. Gresham that "Blount's report be withheld from the public for the present"—a measure of prudence advised too late. The Auckland telegram led to influential persons making earnest inquiries of the Minister as to his intentions. He replied that "no change would take place for some time. Unforeseen contingencies had arisen, and farther communication with Washington must be had before any thing could be done." Great speculation at once arose as to the nature of the "contingencies" spoken of. No one guessed the truth. The disturbance and excitement of the public mind daily increased. The Government perfected the



H. A. WIDEMANN.

G. W. MACFARLANE

J. O. CARTER.

C. SPRECKELS.

E. C. MACFARLANE.



defenses of the Executive and Judiciary buildings. The volunteer forces were increased and improved in organization and equipment.

By the *Monowai*, November 24th, came Gresham's letter to the President, urging "the restoration of the legitimate government" of Hawaii, on the ground of facts established by Blount's report. On the evening of the 25th, a very large and enthusiastic mass meeting was held in the drill-shed. Several speeches were made by prominent men, counselling resistance to the utmost. The first address was by Vice-President F. M. Hatch, who made a cogent argument to show that no such arbitration as Gresham alleged had ever been or could be held by the President, nor could his decision have any force. The following resolutions were adopted by the assembly:

"*Resolved*, That we have read with surprise and regret the recommendation of the Secretary of State of the United States to the President, to restore the monarchy lately existing in Hawaii.

Resolved, That we condemn the assumption of the Secretary that the right of the Provisional Government to exist was terminated by his refusal to re-submit to the Senate the treaty of Union pending between the two countries; and also his assumption that the Provisional Government had at that very time submitted the question of its continued existence to the arbitrament of the President or of any other power.

Resolved, That we support to the best of our ability the

Provisional Government, in resisting any attack upon it which may be made contrary to the usage of nations."

On November 29th, President Dole addressed to Minister Willis the inquiry whether the press report of Gresham's letter was correct, and what were the intentions of the United States Government towards that of Hawaii? On December 2d, Mr. Willis replied that Gresham's letter "was in the nature of a report to the President of the United States, and could only be regarded as a domestic matter, for which the American Minister to Hawaii was in no way responsible, and which he could not assume to interpret." He also declined to inform President Dole of the views or intentions of the United States Government. He had, however, assured various persons that no action would be taken until an answer was received to his dispatch of November 16th, which would not be due until the arrival of the regular mail steamer of December 21st. This assurance served to allay the public apprehensions, as it was most confidently expected that before that date Congress would effectively interpose to arrest the President's proceedings.

At Washington, in the meantime, the Hawaiian Minister, L. A. Thurston, on November 21st, made a sharp and cogent reply to Blount's attack upon himself, and exposed the fallacy of his main position, that "but for the support of the United States representative and troops the establishment of the Provisional Government would have been impossible."

In the interim, Minister Willis held occasional conferences with leading adherents of the Queen, apparently in order to inform himself as to their characters and opinions. On December 5th, the ex-marshall, C. B. Wilson, called on Mr. Willis, and submitted a lengthy programme of proposed procedure to accompany the Queen's restoration. This he said had been submitted to leading advisers of the Queen, and had met their approval. It included a series of measures of great severity towards all concerned in establishing the Provisional Government.

Wilson also submitted a long list of "tried and trusted friends of the monarchy and the nation" who should form a council to aid the Queen in carrying out the proposed measures and in re-establishing herself upon the throne. Upon this list Mr. Willis made the following comment:

"An analysis of the list of special advisers, whether native or foreign, is not encouraging to the friends of good government, or of American interests. This is true, both of the special list of advisers, and of the supplementary list. The Americans who for over half a century held a commanding place in the councils of state, are ignored, and other nationalities, English especially, are placed in charge." Herein Mr. Willis showed himself sufficiently American to recognize considerations which Mr. Blount had totally ignored.

Congress assembled on December 4th, for its regular session. The President's message of that date contained

only a brief and indefinite statement concerning Hawaii, the essential part of which was as follows:

"Our only honorable course was to undo the wrong that had been done by those representing us, and to restore as far as practicable the status existing at the time of our forcible intervention. Our present Minister has received appropriate instructions to that end."

This was the first positive information published anywhere as to the orders of Minister Willis. It reached Honolulu on the 14th of December, by the U. S. Revenue cutter *Corwin*, which had been secretly despatched on the same day as the Message, with orders to Minister Willis as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, December 3d, 1893.

MR. GRESHAM TO MR. WILLIS.

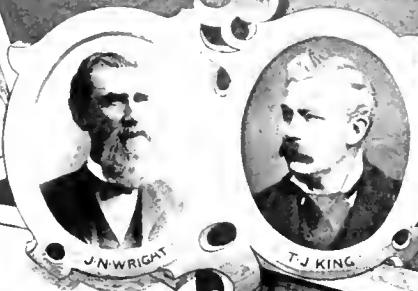
Your dispatch, which was answered by steamer on the 25th of November, seems to call for additional instructions.

Should the Queen refuse assent to the written conditions, you will at once inform her that the President will cease interposition in her behalf, and that while he deems it his duty to endeavor to restore to the sovereign the constitutional government of the islands, his further efforts in that direction will depend upon the Queen's unqualified agreement that all obligations created by the Provisional Government in a proper course of administration shall be assumed,

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"Kings Printer" Photo

HONOLULU-AI.



and upon such pledges by her as will prevent the adoption of any measures of proscription or punishment for what has been done in the past by those setting up or supporting the Provisional Government. The President feels that by our original interference and what followed, we have incurred responsibilities to the whole Hawaiian community, and it would not be just to put one party at the mercy of the other.

Should the Queen ask whether if she accedes to conditions active steps will be taken by the United States to effect her restoration, or to maintain her authority thereafter, you will say that the President can not use force without the authority of Congress.

Should the Queen accept conditions and the Provisional Government refuse to surrender, you will be governed by previous instructions. If the Provisional Government asks whether the United States will hold the Queen to fulfillment of stipulated conditions you will say, the President acting under dictates of honor and duty, as he has done in endeavoring to effect restoration, will do all in his constitutional power to cause observance of the conditions he has imposed.

GRESHAM.

The *Corwin* was not allowed to bring any mail matter, but a newspaper containing the President's message happened to be on board.

Minister Thurston at Washington, on the day after the

President's message, addressed to Secretary Gresham a vigorous protest against the President's assumption of authority or jurisdiction to restore the Queen or in any way to interfere with the Government of Hawaii. He also sought in an interview with the Secretary to learn whether Minister Willis had been empowered to employ force in restoring the Queen. The Secretary was diplomatic, but left the impression upon Mr. Thurston's mind that such force was *not* to be used.

The attacks upon the President's action continued in Congress and in the public press with increasing severity. Resolutions were speedily passed by both Houses, requesting full information on Hawaiian affairs. On the 18th of December, President Cleveland sent to Congress a special message upon the Hawaiian question, commanding this subject to their "extended powers and wide discretion." At that moment the business was reaching its crisis at Honolulu.

The essential part of the message is as follows:

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

"In my recent annual message to the Congress, I briefly referred to our relations with Hawaii, and expressed the intention of transmitting further information on the subject when additional advices permitted.

Though I am not able now to report a definite change in the actual situation, I am convinced that the difficulties

lately created both here and in Hawaii, and now standing in the way of a solution through executive action of the problem presented, render it proper and expedient that the matter should be referred to the broader authority and discretion of Congress, with a full explanation of the endeavor thus far made to deal with the emergency, and a statement of the considerations which have governed my action."

After an extended statement, based entirely on Col. Blount's report, the President continued as follows:

DECEMBER 18th, 1893.

"I believe that a candid and thorough examination of the facts will force the conviction that the Provisional Government owes its existence to an armed invasion by the United States.

* * * * *

A substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires that we should endeavor to repair.

* * * * *

Actuated by these desires and purposes and not unmindful of the inherent perplexities of the situation nor of the limitations upon my power, I instructed Minister Willis to advise the Queen and her supporters of my desire to aid in the restoration of the status existing before the lawless landing of the United States forces at Honolulu on the 16th of January last, if such restoration could be effected upon terms

providing for clemency as well as justice to all parties concerned. The conditions suggested, as the instructions show, contemplate a general amnesty to those concerned in setting up the Provisional Government and a recognition of all its *bona fide* acts and obligations.

In short, they require that the past should be buried, and that the restored government should reassume its authority as if its continuity had not been interrupted. These conditions have not proved acceptable to the Queen, and though she has been informed that they will be insisted upon and that, unless acceded to, the efforts of the President to aid in the restoration of her government will cease, I have not thus far learned that she is willing to yield them her acquiescence. The check which my plans have thus encountered has prevented their presentation to the members of the Provisional Government, while unfortunate public misrepresentations of the situation and exaggerated statements of the sentiments of our people have obviously injured the prospects of successful executive mediation.

I therefore submit this communication with its accompanying exhibits, embracing Mr. Blount's report, the evidence and statements taken by him at Honolulu, the instructions given to both Mr. Blount and Minister Willis, and correspondence connected with the affair in hand.

In commending this subject to the extended powers and wide discretion of the Congress, I desire to add the assurance that I shall be much gratified to cooperate in any

legislative plan which may be devised for the solution of the problem before us, which is consistent with American honor, integrity and morality."

GROVER CLEVELAND.

THE "BLACK WEEK" IN HONOLULU.

The unexpected arrival of the *Corwin* in the early morning of the 14th created intense excitement and consternation, beginning a seven days of severest anxiety and apprehension. A demand for the restoration of the deposed Queen was daily expected from the American Minister. It was believed by all parties that this demand would be supported by the naval forces of the warships *Philadelphia* and *Adams*, under the command of Admiral Irwin. The forces of those ships were immediately prepared and held in hourly readiness for landing. It was evident that the President had arranged to be beforehand with any possible interference by Congress with his designs. The supporters of the Government were fully prepared to resist to the utmost the attack of the United States forces. Battle was expected at any hour, and the strain and tension grew daily more severe. This state of things is described in detail in President Dole's letter of specifications to Minister Willis, of January 11th, 1894. It was subsequently proved that the coming demand was not intended to be supported by the actual use of force, but only by an *exhibition* thereof.

RENEWED EFFORTS TO MOLLIFY ROYALTY.

On the 16th, two days after the arrival of the *Corwin*, ex-Queen came by previous appointment to the legation at 9 A. M., accompanied by Mr. J. O. Carter as adviser. Mr. Willis said, "The President expects and believes that when reinstated you will show forgiveness and magnanimity." Reading over his report of their interview of November 13th, he asked if her views were now in any respect modified. The only concession she would make was to remit the capital punishment of her opponents, but they and their families must be deported, and their property confiscated. "Their presence and that of their children would always be a dangerous menace to herself and her people." She also insisted on being reinstated with a new Constitution similar to the one she had attempted to promulgate. She agreed to accept responsibility for the obligations of the Provisional Government, their military expenses to be refunded to the treasury out of their confiscated estates.

On Monday the 18th, at Mr. Carter's solicitation, another interview was accorded to Liliuokalani. This took place at her residence in Washington Place, in the afternoon, Mr. Carter being present with Consul Mills as stenographer. Mr. Carter made an address, in which he urged her to comply—that good government seemed impossible unless Her Majesty showed a spirit of forgiveness and magnanimity

—that the movement against her and her people embraced a large and respectable portion of the foreign element in this community, which could not be ignored.

The ex-Queen expressed herself as feeling that any third attempt at revolution on the part of those people would be very destructive to life and property; that her people had had about all they could stand of this interference with their rights. She continued explicitly to define her intention that their property should be confiscated.

Mr. Willis made it clear that the President would insist upon complete amnesty and the old Constitution.

She asked how she should know that in the future the country should not be troubled again as it had been in the past.

The Minister replied that the United States had no right to look into that subject or to express an opinion upon it.

The interview terminated, and after the report thereof had been duly attested, Mr. Mills informed the ex-Queen that the two reports of the 16th and 18th would be immediately forwarded to the President, and his answer when received would be promptly made known to her. By the minister's orders, the *Corwin* was put in readiness to sail that evening with his despatches.

All that morning of the 18th there had been increased stir of preparation on board of the *Philadelphia* and the *Adams*. Crowds of natives thronged the wharves in expectation of an immediate landing of the naval forces to restore the

Queen. A majority of the native policemen that morning threw up their positions, rather than take a required oath to support the Government. Intense alarm pervaded the city all that day.

Mr. H. F. Glade, consul for Germany called that morning upon Mr. Willis and asked him to say something to allay the extreme tension of alarm which was paralyzing all business and filling the people with terror. The Minister replied that he was unable to say anything—that he was laboring to the utmost to secure a result satisfactory to all parties, but did not expect to attain that end under forty-eight hours.

The supporters of the Government had in the mean time given the Executive the strongest assurance of their desire and readiness to resist to the death the United States forces in any attempt to restore the Queen. The Government had at first felt hesitation in proposing to Americans to fire upon their own flag. The urgent appeals of American citizens, however, determined the Government to resist to the last, and arrangements were made accordingly. It was well that the ex-Queen's desires to behead and deport her opponents had been kept secret. Farther exasperation would have been dangerous.

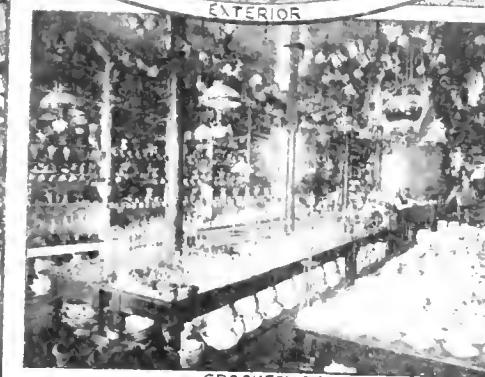
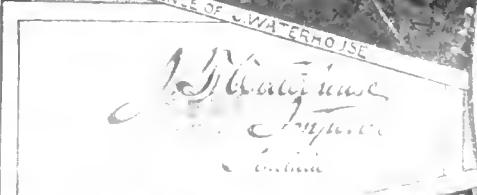
MR. CARTER'S SUCCESSFUL MEDIATION.

In his repeated intercourse during the day with the ex-Queen, the Minister was imagined to be formulating the re-organization of her government. It was not imagined

J.T. Waterhouse



A. POSTER





that she was resisting a demand for amnesty. She continued to be obdurate. The dispatches reporting her final refusal of the terms were ready to go to the *Corwin*. Seeing this to be her last opportunity, her faithful friend, Mr. J. O. Carter, a man of conscientious character, again went to her and labored with her with such success that at 6 p. m. he was enabled to carry to Mr. Willis a written assurance that she would comply with all his conditions. The *Corwin's* sailing was countermanded.

No one has questioned the integrity of Mr. Carter's intentions. But after Liliuokalani's extreme attitude became known about beheading and confiscation, a strong feeling arose against him for having labored so zealously to secure her restoration, after having learned her disposition. The animosity became so strong among Mr. Carter's former near associates who had been marked as her victims, that he was displaced from a responsible and lucrative business position.

President Dole had that afternoon addressed to Mr. Willis the following letter :

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, Dec. 18th, 1893.

Sir : I am informed that you are in communication with Liliuokalani, the ex-Queen, with a view of re-establishing the monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands and of supporting

her pretensions to the sovereignty. Will you inform me if this report is true or if you are acting in any way hostile to this Government.

I appreciate fully the fact that any such action upon your part in view of your official relations with this Government would seem impossible; but as the information has come to me from such sources that I am compelled to notice it, you will pardon me for pressing you for an immediate answer.

Accept the assurances of distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to be sir,

Your excellency's obedient, humble servant,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Willis replied next morning as follows :

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

HONOLULU, Dec. 19th, 1893.

Sir : I have the honor to inform you that I have a communication from my Government which I desire to submit to the President and ministers of your Government at any hour to-day which it may please you to designate.

With high regard and sincere respect, I am, etc.,

ALBERT S. WILLIS.

THE DEMAND FOR THE QUEEN'S RESTORATION.

At 9:30 a. m., of the 19th, Mr. Carter brought to Mr. Willis the ex-Queen's fully expressed agreement to all his conditions. At 1:30 p. m., the American Minister met the President and Executive Council at the Foreign Office, and read to them the following communication:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:

The President of the United States has very much regretted the delay in the consideration of the Hawaiian question, but it has been unavoidable. So much of it as has occurred since my arrival has been due to certain conditions precedent, compliance with which was required before I was authorized to confer with you. The President also regrets, as most assuredly do I, that any seeming secrecy should have surrounded the interchange of views between our two Governments. I may say this, however, that the secrecy thus far observed, has been in the interest and for the safety of all your people.

I need hardly promise that the President's action upon the Hawaiian question has been under the dictates of honor and duty. It is now, and has been from the beginning, absolutely free from prejudice and resentment, and entirely consistent with the long-established friendship and treaty

ties which have so closely bound together our respective Governments.

The President deemed it his duty to withdraw from the Senate the treaty of annexation which had been signed by the Secretary of State and the agents of your Government, and to dispatch a trusted representative to Hawaii to impartially investigate the causes of your revolution, and ascertain and report the true situation in these islands. This information was needed, the better to enable the President to discharge a delicate and important duty. Upon the facts embodied in Mr. Blount's reports, the President has arrived at certain conclusions and determined upon a certain course of action with which it becomes my duty to acquaint you.

The Provisional Government was not established by the Hawaiian people or with their consent or acquiescence, nor has it since existed with their consent. The Queen refused to surrender her powers to the Provisional Government until convinced that the Minister of the United States had recognized it as the *de facto* authority and would support and defend it with the military force of the United States, and that resistance would precipitate a bloody conflict with that force. She was advised and assured by her ministers and by leaders of the movement for the overthrow of her Government that if she surrendered under protest her case would afterwards be fairly considered by the President of the United States. The Queen finally yielded to the armed

forces of the United States then quartered in Honolulu, relying on the good faith and honor of the President, when informed of what had occurred, to undo the action of the Minister and reinstate her and the authority which she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

After a patient examination of Mr. Blount's reports the President is satisfied that the movement against the Queen, if not instigated, was encouraged and supported by the representative of this Government at Honolulu; that he promised in advance to aid her enemies in an effort to overthrow the Hawaiian Government and set up by force a new government in its place, and that he kept this promise by causing a detachment of troops to be landed from the *Boston* on the 16th of January, and by recognizing the Provisional Government the next day when it was too feeble to defend itself and the Constitutional Government was able to successfully maintain its authority against any threatening force other than that of the United States already landed.

The President has therefore determined that he will not send back to the Senate for its action thereon the treaty which he withdrew from that body for further consideration on the 9th day of March last.

In view of these conclusions, I was instructed by the President to take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the Queen of this determination and of his views as to the responsibility of our Government.

The President, however, felt that we, by our original

interference, had incurred responsibilities to the whole Hawaiian community, and that it would not be just to put one party at the mercy of the other. I was, therefore, instructed, at the same time, to inform the Queen that when reinstated, that the President expected that she would pursue a magnanimous course by granting fully amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, including persons who are or who have been officially or otherwise connected with the Provisional Government, depriving them of no right or privilege which they enjoyed before the so-called revolution. All obligations created by the Provisional Government in due course of administration should be assumed.

In obedience to the command of the President I have secured the Queen's agreement to this course, and I now read and deliver a writing signed by her and duly attested, a copy of which I will leave with you.

(The agreement was here read.)

It becomes my further duty to advise you, sir, the executive of the Provisional Government and your ministers, of the President's determination of the question, which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that you are expected to promptly relinquish to her constitutional authority.

And now, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Provisional Government, with a deep and solemn sense of the gravity of the situation and with the earnest hope that your answer will be inspired by that high patriotism which forgets all

self-interest, in the name and by the authority of the United States of America, I submit to you the question, "Are you willing to abide by the decision of the President?"

The Advisory Council were immediately summoned to conference. With the utmost promptness and unanimity, both councils voted to instruct President Dole to refuse compliance with the extraordinary demand of Mr. Willis in such terms as should be most fitting.

As the minister's demand was not accompanied with any threat of coercion, as the action of the Government was decided, as the preparation of a suitable reply would occupy some days, and as the *Alameda* was due in two days with probable news of the vigorous intervention of Congress to prevent forcible coercion, there was a material relaxation of the tension which had been felt for several days. The extreme crisis was past.

The *Alameda* arrived on Friday the 22d. The eight days of anxiety came to an end. Congress had powerfully intervened. The Senate had solemnly arraigned the President for unconstitutional behavior. Messrs. L. A. Thurston, W. N. Armstrong and H. N. Castle arrived. The word was passed ashore "All is right," and swiftly sped up the streets at sunrise. Honolulu's "Black Week" was over.

DOLE'S REPLY TO WILLIS' DEMAND.

On the evening of the 23d of December, the completed reply of President Dole to the strange demand of the Ameri-

can Minister was placed in the hands of Mr. Willis. The Minister's dispatches were completed and the *Corwin* sailed at 4 a. m. of the 24th. She was not allowed to take any mail, public or private. She was ordered by Mr. Willis to slow up, and enter the bay of San Francisco at night, in order to enable the President to receive this official communication before any intimation of its character could be telegraphed. For several days after she was anchored out in the bay, and no communication allowed with the shore. Mr. Willis' precautions were successful, and the American public for several days gained no knowledge of the strange doings at Honolulu until January 9th.

Mr. Dole's reply was as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

HONOLULU, December 23d, 1893.

Sir: Your excellency's communication of December 19th, announcing the conclusion which the President of the United States of America has finally arrived at respecting the application of this Government for a treaty of political union with that country, and referring also to the domestic affairs of these islands, has had the consideration of the Government.

While it is with deep disappointment that we learn that the important proposition which we have submitted to the Government of the United States, and which was at first favorably considered by it, has at length been rejected, we

have experienced a sense of relief that we are now favored with the first official information upon the subject that has been received through a period of over nine months.

While we accept the decision of the President of the United States, declining further to consider the annexation proposition, as the final conclusion of the present administration, we do not feel inclined to regard it as the last word of the American Government upon this subject, for the history of the mutual relations of the two countries, of American effort and influence in building up the Christian civilization which has so conspicuously aided in giving this country an honorable place among independent nations, the geographical position of these islands, and the important and, to both countries, profitable reciprocal commercial interests which have long existed, together with our weakness as a sovereign nation, all point with convincing force to political union between the two countries as the necessary logical result from the circumstances mentioned. The conviction is emphasized by the favorable expression of American statesmen over a long period in favor of annexation, conspicuous among whom are the names of W. L. Marcy, William H. Seward, Hamilton Fish, and James G. Blaine, all former Secretaries of State, and especially so by the action of your last administration in negotiating a treaty of annexation with this Government and sending it to the Senate with a view to its ratification.

We shall therefore continue the project of political union

with the United States as a conspicuous feature of our foreign policy, confidently hoping that sooner or later it will be crowned with success, to the lasting benefit of both countries.)

The additional portion of your communication referring to our domestic affairs with a view of interfering therein, is a new departure in the relations of the two governments. Your information that the President of the United States expects this Government "to promptly relinquish to her (meaning the ex-Queen) her constitutional authority," with the question "are you willing to abide by the decision of the President?" might well be dismissed in a single word, but for the circumstance that your communication contains, as it appears to me, misstatements and erroneous conclusions based thereon, that are so prejudicial to this Government that I can not permit them to pass unchallenged; moreover, the importance and menacing character of this proposition make it appropriate for me to discuss somewhat fully the question raised by it.

We do not recognize the right of the President of the United States to interfere in our domestic affairs. Such right could be conferred upon him by the act of this government, and by that alone, or it could be acquired by conquest. This I understand to be the American doctrine, conspicuously announced from time to time by the authorities of your Government.

President Jackson said in his message to Congress in

1836: "The uniform policy and practice of the United States is to avoid all interference in disputes which merely relate to the internal government of other nations, and eventually to recognize the authority of the prevailing party, without reference to the merits of the original controversy."

This principle of international law has been consistently recognized during the whole past intercourse of the two countries, and was recently reaffirmed in the instructions given by Secretary Gresham to Commissioner Blount on March 11, 1893, and by the latter published in the newspapers in Honolulu in a letter of his own to the Hawaiian public. The words of these instructions which I refer to are as follows: "The United States claim no right to interfere in the political or domestic affairs or in the internal conflicts of the Hawaiian Islands other than as herein stated (referring to the protection of American citizens) or for the purpose of maintaining any treaty or other rights which they possess." The treaties between the two countries confer no right of interference.

Upon what, then, Mr. Minister, does the President of the United States base his right of interference? Your communication is without information upon this point, excepting such as may be contained in the following brief and vague sentences: "She (the ex-Queen) was advised and assured by her ministers and leaders of the movement for the overthrow of her government that if she surrendered under protest her case would afterward be fairly considered by the

President of the United States. The Queen finally yielded to the armed forces of the United States, then quartered in Honolulu, relying on the good faith and honor of the President, when informed of what had occurred, to undo the action of the minister and reinstate her and the authority which she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands." Also, "it becomes my further duty to advise you, sir, the Executive of the Provisional Government, and your ministers, of the President's determination of the question which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that you are expected to promptly relinquish to her constitutional authority."

I understand that the first quotation is referred to in the following words of the second, "which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him" (the President of the United States), and that the President has arrived at his conclusions from Commissioner Blount's report. We have had as yet no opportunity of examining this document, but from extracts published in the papers and for reasons set forth hereafter, we are not disposed to submit the fate of Hawaii to its statements and conclusions. As a matter of fact no member of the executive of the Provisional Government has conferred with the ex-Queen, either verbally or otherwise, from the time the new Government was proclaimed till now, with the exception of one or two notices which were sent to her by myself in regard to her removal from the palace and relating to the guards which the Gov-

ernment first allowed her and perhaps others of a like nature. I infer that a conversation which Mr. Damon, then a member of the advisory council, is reported by Mr. Blount to have had with the ex-Queen on January 17th, and which has been quoted in the newspapers, is the basis of this astounding claim of the President of the United States of his authority to adjudicate upon our right as a government to exist.

Mr. Damon, on the occasion mentioned, was allowed to accompany the cabinet of the former Government, who had been in conference with me and my associates, to meet the ex-Queen. He went informally, without instructions and without authority to represent the Government or to assure the ex-Queen "that if she surrendered under protest her case would afterwards be fairly considered by the President of the United States." Our ultimatum had already been given to the members of the ex-cabinet who had been in conference with us. What Mr. Damon said to the ex-Queen he said on his individual responsibility and did not report it to us. Mr. Blount's report of his remarks on that occasion furnish to the Government its first information of the nature of those remarks. Admitting for argument's sake that the Government had authorized such assurances, what was "her case" that was afterwards to "be fairly considered by the President of the United States?"

Was it the question of her right to subvert the Hawaiian constitution and to proclaim a new one to suit herself, or

was it her claim to be restored to the sovereignty, or was it her claim against the United States for the alleged unwarrentable acts of Minister Stevens, or was it all these in the alternative; who can say? But if it had been all of these, or any of them, it could not have been more clearly and finally decided by the President of the United States in favor of the Provisional Government than when he recognized it without qualification and received its accredited commissioners, negotiated a treaty of annexation with them, received its accredited envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, and accredited successively two envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to it; the ex-Queen in the meantime being represented in Washington by her agent who had full access to the Department of State.

The whole business of the Government with the President of the United States is set forth in the correspondence between the two governments and the acts and statements of the minister of this Government at Washington and the annexation commissioners accredited to it. If we have submitted our right to exist to the United States, the fact will appear in that correspondence and the acts of our commissioners. Such agreement must be shown as the foundation of the right of your Government to interfere, for an arbitrator can be created only by the act of two parties.

The ex-Queen sent her attorney to Washington to plead her claim for reinstatement in power, or failing that for a money allowance or damages. This attorney was refused

passage on the Government dispatch boat, which was sent to San Francisco with the annexation commissioners and their message. The departure of this vessel was less than two days after the new Government was declared, and the refusal was made promptly upon receiving the request therefor either on the day the Government was declared or on the next day. If an intention to submit the question of the reinstatement of the ex-Queen had existed, why should her attorney have been refused passage on this boat? The ex-Queen's letter to President Harrison dated January 18, the day after the new Government was proclaimed, makes no allusion to any understanding between her and the Government for arbitration. Her letter is as follows:

"HIS EXCELLENCY BENJAMIN HARRISON,

President of the United States:

"MY GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: It is with deep regret that I address you on this occasion. Some of my subjects aided by aliens, have renounced their loyalty and revolted against the constitutional Government of my Kingdom. They have attempted to depose me and to establish a provisional government in direct conflict with the organic law of this Kingdom. Upon receiving incontestable proof that his excellency the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, aided and abetted their unlawful movements and caused United States troops to be landed for that purpose,

I submitted to force, believing that he would not have acted in that manner unless by the authority of the Government which he represents.

"This action on my part was prompted by three reasons: The futility of a conflict with the United States; the desire to avoid violence, bloodshed and the destruction of life and property, and the certainty which I feel that you and your Government will right whatever wrongs may have been inflicted upon us in the premises.

"In due time a statement of the true facts relating to this matter will be laid before you, and I live in the hope that you will judge uprightly and justly between myself and my enemies. This appeal is not made for myself personally, but for my people, who have hitherto always enjoyed the friendship and protection of the United States.

"My opponents have taken the only vessel which could be obtained here for the purpose, and hearing of their intention to send a delegation of their number to present their side of this conflict before you, I requested the favor of sending by the same vessel an envoy to you, to lay before you my statement, as the facts appear to myself and my loyal subjects.

"This request has been refused, and I now ask you that in justice to myself and to my people that no steps be taken by the Government of the United States until my cause can be heard by you.

"I shall be able to dispatch an envoy about the 2d of

February, as that will be the first available opportunity, hence, and he will reach you by every possible haste that there may be no delay in the settlement of this matter.

"I pray you, therefore, my good friend, that you will not allow any conclusions to be reached by you until my envoy arrives."

"I beg to assure you of the continuance of my highest consideration.

LILIUOKALANI R.

"Honolulu, January 18, 1893."

If any understanding had existed at that time between her and the Government to submit the question of her restoration to the United States, some reference to such an understanding would naturally have appeared in this letter, as every reason would have existed for calling the attention of the President to that fact, especially as she then knew that her attorney would be seriously delayed in reaching Washington. But there is not a word from which such an understanding can be predicated. The Government sent its commissioners to Washington for the sole object of procuring the confirmation of the recognition by Minister Stevens of the new Government and to enter into negotiations for political union with the United States. The protest of the ex-Queen, made on January 17, is equally with the letter devoid of evidence of any mutual understanding for a submission of her claim to the throne to the United States. It

is evidently a protest against the alleged action of Minister Stevens as well as the new Government, and contains a notice of her appeal to the United States.

The document was received exactly as it would have been received if it had come through the mail. The indorsement of its receipt upon the paper was made at the request of the individual who brought it as evidence of its safe delivery. As to the ex-Queen's notice of her appeal to the United States, it was a matter of indifference to us. Such an appeal could not have been prevented, as the mail service was in operation as usual. That such a notice, and our receipt of it without comment, should be made a foundation of a claim that we had submitted our right to exist as a government to the United States had never occurred to us until suggested to us by your Government. The protest is as follows:

"I, Liliuokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a provisional government of and for this Kingdom.

"That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, his excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu, and declared that he would support the said provisional government.

"Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

"Done at Honolulu the 17th day of January, A. D. 1893.

"LILIUOKALANI, R.

"SAMUEL PARKER,

"Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"WILLIAM H. CORNWELL,

"Minister of Finance.

"JOHN F. COLBURN,

"Minister of the Interior.

"A. P. PETERSON,

"Attorney-General.

"S. B. DOLE, Esq., and others,

"Composing the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Government."

(Indorsed:) "Received by the hands of the late cabinet this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893. Sanford B. Dole, chairman of executive council of Provisional Government."

You may not be aware, but such is the fact, that at no time until the presentation of the claim of the President of the United States of his right to interfere in the internal

affairs of this country, by you on December 19th, has this Government been officially informed by the United States Government that any such course was contemplated. And not until the publication of Mr. Gresham's letter to the President of the United States on the Hawaiian question had we any reliable intimation of such a policy. The adherents of the ex-Queen have indeed claimed from time to time that such was the case, but we have never been able to attach serious importance to their rumors to that effect, feeling secure in our perfect diplomatic relations with your country and relying upon the friendship and fairness of a government whose dealings with us had ever shown full recognition of our independence as a sovereign power, without any tendency to take advantage of the disparity of strength between the two countries.

If your contention that President Cleveland believes that this Government and the ex-Queen have submitted their respective claims to the sovereignty of this country to the adjudication of the United States is correct, then, may I ask, when and where was the President held his court of arbitration? This Government has had no notice of the sitting of such a tribunal and no opportunity of presenting evidence of its claims. If Mr. Blount's investigation were a part of the proceedings of such a court, this Government did not know it and was never informed of it; indeed, as I have mentioned above, we never knew until the publication of Secretary Gresham's letter to President Cleveland a

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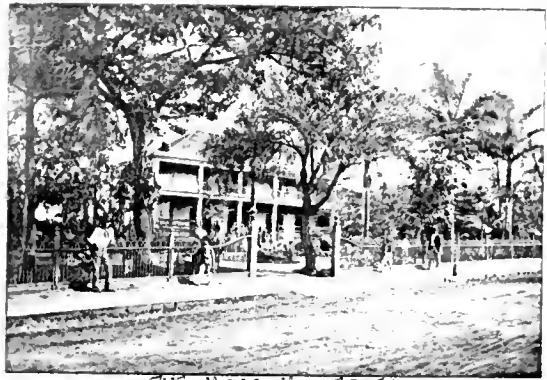
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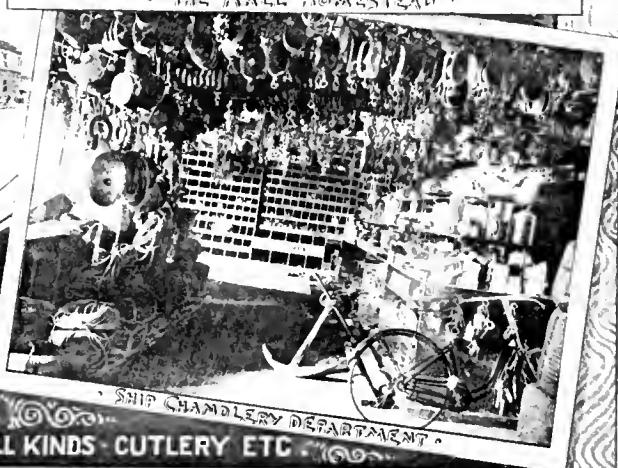
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few weeks ago, that the American Executive had a policy of interference under contemplation. Even if we had known that Mr. Blount was authoritatively acting as a commissioner to take evidence upon the question of restoration of the *ex*-Queen, the methods adopted by him in making his investigations, were, I submit, unsuitable to such an examination or any examination upon which human interests were to be adjudicated.

As I am reliably informed, he selected his witnesses and examined them in secret, freely using leading questions, giving no opportunity for a cross-examination, and often not permitting such explanations by witnesses themselves as they desired to make of evidence which he had drawn from them. It is hardly necessary for me to suggest that under such a mode of examination some witnesses would be almost helpless in the hands of an astute lawyer, and might be drawn into saying things which would be only half-truths, and standing alone would be misleading or even false in effect. Is it likely that an investigation conducted in this manner could result in a fair, full, and truthful statement of the case in point? Surely the destinies of a friendly Government, admitting by way of argument that the right of arbitration exists, may not be disposed of upon an *ex parte* and secret investigation made without the knowledge of such Government or an opportunity by it to be heard or even to know who the witnesses were.

Mr. Blount came here as a stranger and at once entered

upon his duties. He devoted himself to the work of collecting information, both by the examination of witnesses and the collection of statistics and other documentary matter, with great energy and industry, giving up, substantially, his whole time to its prosecution. He was here but a few months, and during that time was so occupied with this work that he had little opportunity left for receiving those impressions of the state of affairs which could best have come to him, incidentally, through a wide social intercourse with the people of the country and a personal acquaintance with its various communities and educational and industrial enterprises. He saw the country from his cottage in the center of Honolulu mainly through the eyes of the witnesses whom he examined. Under these circumstances is it probable that the most earnest of men would be able to form a statement that could safely be relied upon as the basis of a decision upon the question of the standing of a government?

In view, therefore, of all the facts in relation to the question of the President's authority to interfere and concerning which the members of the executive were actors and eyewitnesses, I am able to assure your excellency that by no action of this Government, on the 17th day of January last, or since that time, has the authority devolved upon the President of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of this country through any conscious act or expression of this Government with such an intention.

You state in your communication—

"After a patient examination of Mr. Blount's reports the President is satisfied that the movement against the Queen if not instigated was encouraged and supported by the representative of this Government at Honolulu; that he promised in advance to aid her enemies in an effort to overthrow the Hawaiian Government and set up by force a new government in its place; that he kept his promise by causing a detachment of troops to be landed from the *Boston* on the 16th of January, 1893, and by recognizing the Provisional Government the next day when it was too feeble to defend itself and the Constitutional Government was able to successfully maintain its authority against any threatening force other than that of the United States already landed."

Without entering into a discussion of the facts I beg to state in reply that I am unable to judge of the correctness of Mr. Blount's report from which the President's conclusions were drawn, as I have had no opportunity of examining such report. But I desire to specifically and emphatically deny the correctness of each and every one of the allegations of fact contained in the above-quoted statement; yet, as the President has arrived at a positive opinion in his own mind in the matter, I will refer to it from his standpoint.

My position, is briefly, this: If the American forces illegally assisted the revolutionists in the establishment of the Provisional Government that Government is not responsible

for their wrong-doing. It was purely a private matter for discipline between the United States Government and its own officers. There is, I submit, no precedent in international law for the theory that such action of the American troops has conferred upon the United States authority over the internal affairs of this Government. Should it be true, as you have suggested, that the American Government made itself responsible to the Queen, who, it is alleged lost her throne through such action, that is not a matter for me to discuss, except to submit that if such be the case, it is a matter for the American Government and her to settle between them. This Government, a recognized sovereign power, equal in authority with the United States Government and enjoying diplomatic relations with it, can not be destroyed by it for the sake of discharging its obligations to the ex-Queen.

Upon these grounds, Mr. Minister, in behalf of my Government I respectfully protest against the usurpation of its authority as suggested by the language of your communication.

It is difficult for a stranger like yourself, and much more for the President of the United States, with his pressing responsibilities, his crowding cares and his want of familiarity with the condition and history of this country and the inner life of its people, to obtain a clear insight into the real state of affairs and to understand the social currents, the race feelings and the customs and traditions which

all contribute to the political outlook. We, who have grown up here or who have adopted this country as our home, are conscious of the difficulty of maintaining a stable government here. A community which is made up of five races, of which the larger part but dimly appreciate the significance and value of representative institutions, offers political problems which may well tax the wisdom of the most experienced statesman.

For long years a large and influential part of this community, including many foreigners and native Hawaiians, have observed with deep regret the retrogressive tendencies of the Hawaiian monarchy, and have honorably striven against them, and have sought through legislative work, the newspapers, and by personal appeal and individual influence to support and emphasize the representative features of the monarchy and to create a public sentiment favorable thereto, and thereby to avert the catastrophe that seemed inevitable if such tendencies were not restrained. These efforts have been met by the last two sovereigns in a spirit of aggressive hostility. The struggle became at length a well-defined issue between royal prerogative and the right of representative government, and most bitterly and unscrupulously has it been carried on in the interests of the former. The King's privilege of importing goods for his own use without paying the duties thereon was abused to the extent of admitting large quantities of liquors, with which to debauch the electorate. He promoted the election of Government officers,

both executive and judicial, to the legislative assembly, and freely appointed to office elected members thereof.

In the legislature of 1886, of which I was a member, the party supporting the Government was largely in the majority, and nearly every member of that majority held some appointment from the Government, and some of them as many as two or three, thereby effectually placing the legislative branch of the Government under the personal and absolute control of the King. The constitutional encroachments, lawless extravagance, and scandalous and open sales of patronage and privilege to the highest bidder by Kalakaua brought in at length the revolution of 1887, which had the full sympathy and moral support of all the diplomatic representatives in Honolulu, including Minister Merrill, who was at that time President Cleveland's minister here.

This revolution was not an annexation movement in any sense, but tended toward an independent republic, but, when it had the monarchy in its power, conservative counsels prevailed, and a new lease of life was allowed that institution on the condition of royal fidelity to the new constitution, which was then promulgated and which greatly curtailed the powers of the sovereign. Kalakaua was not faithful to this compact, and sought as far as possible to evade its stipulations. The insurrection of 1889 was connived at by him, and the household guards under his control were not allowed to take part in suppressing it. The Princess Liliuokalani was in full sympathy with this movement, being a party to

it, and furnished her suburban residence to the insurgents for their meetings. The arrangements were there made, and the insurgents marched thence for their attack upon the Government. The affair was suppressed in a few hours of fighting, with some loss of life to the insurgents, by the party which carried through the revolution of 1887.

The ex-Queen's rule was even more reckless and retrogressive than her brother's. Less politic than he, and with less knowledge of affairs, she had more determination and was equally unreliable and deficient in moral principle. She, to all appearance, unhesitatingly took the oath of office to govern according to the constitution, and evidently regarding it merely as a formal ceremony began, according to her own testimony to Mr. Blount, to lay her plans to destroy the constitution and replace it with one of her own creation. With a like disregard of its sanctions, she made the most determined efforts to control all of the appointments to office, both executive and judicial. The session of the legislature of 1882 was the longest that had ever occurred in our history, and was characterized by a most obstinate struggle for personal control of the Government and the legislature on the part of the Queen. This was strenuously resisted by the opposition.

During this contest four ministerial cabinets were appointed and unseated, and the lottery-franchise bill, which had been withdrawn early in the session for want of sufficient support, was at the last moment, when the opposition was

weakened by the absence of several of its members, again brought forward and passed through the exercise of improper and illegitimate influences upon the legislators, among which were personal appeals on the part of the Queen to them. The cabinet which represented the opposition and the majority of the legislature which the Queen had been compelled to appoint was unseated by similar means, and with a new cabinet of her own choice the legislature was prorogued. This lottery franchise was of a character corresponding with similar institutions which have been driven out of every State of the American Union by an indignant public sentiment. If it had been established here it would in a brief period have obtained full control of the Government patronage and corrupted the social and political life of the people.

Although the situation at the close of the session was deeply discouraging to the community, it was accepted without any intention of meeting it by other than legal means. The attempted *coup d'état* of the Queen followed, and her ministers, threatened with violence, fled to the citizens for assistance and protection; then it was that the uprising against the Queen took place, and gathering force from day to day, resulted in the proclamation of the Provisional Government and the abrogation of the monarchy on the third day thereafter.

No man can correctly say that the Queen owed her downfall to the interference of American forces. The revolution was carried through by the representatives, now largely

reinforced, of the same public sentiment which forced the monarchy to its knees in 1887, which suppressed the insurrection of 1889, and which for twenty years has been battling for representative government in this country. If the American forces had been absent the revolution would have taken place, for the sufficient causes for it had nothing to do with their presence.

I, therefore, in all friendship of the Government of the United States, which you represent, and desiring to cherish the good will of the American people, submit the answer of my Government to your proposition, and ask that you will transmit the same to the President of the United States for his consideration.

Though the Provisional Government is far from being "a great power" and could not long resist the forces of the United States in a hostile attack, we deem our position to be impregnable under all legal precedents, under the principles of diplomatic intercourse, and in the forum of conscience. We have done your Government no wrong; no charge of discourtesy is or can be brought against us. Our only issue with your people has been that, because we revered its institutions of civil liberty, we have desired to have them extended to our own distracted country, and because we honor its flag and deeming that its beneficent and authoritative presence would be for the best interests of all of our people, we have stood ready to add our country, a new star, to its glory, and to consummate a union which we believed would

be as much for the benefit of your country as ours. If this is an offense, we plead guilty to it.

I am instructed to inform you, Mr. Minister, that the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands respectfully and unhesitatingly declines to entertain the proposition of the President of the United States that it should surrender its authority to the ex-Queen.

This answer is made not only upon the grounds hereinbefore set forth, but upon our sense of duty and loyalty to the brave men whose commissions we hold, who have faithfully stood by us in the hour of trial, and whose will is the only earthly authority we recognize. We can not betray the sacred trust they have placed in our hands, a trust which represents the cause of Christian civilization in the interests of the whole people of these islands.

With assurances of the highest consideration,

I have, etc.,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency ALBERT S. WILLIS,
U. S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

THE PRESIDENT SUSPENDS FARTHER ACTION.

On the 12th of January, Secretary Gresham instructed Mr. Willis that "you will until farther notice consider that your special instructions have been fully complied with."

On the 27th of December, the *Arawa* from Vancouver brought to Honolulu the special message of the President of the 5th, and there for the first time was it learned that Mr. Willis' strange delay to act had been caused by the ex-Queen's refusal of amnesty. The knowledge of her desire to "behead" did not arrive until a month later, when it elicited many denunciations of her as a "Dyak head-hunter" and the like. It is harder to define the mental attitude of President Cleveland, when he persisted in his effort to reinstate such a monarch after her mental condition had thus been laid open to him.

Under date of January 2d, 1894, Admiral Irwin wrote to the Secretary of the Navy that "Mr. Willis has never given me the slightest hint that there was ever any intention on the part of the United States Government to use force in order to restore the Queen. My own orders to preserve strict neutrality have been implicitly obeyed."

MR. DOLE'S LETTER OF SPECIFICATION.

Growing out of the events above recorded, there ensued a correspondence continued for several weeks between President Dole and Minister Willis. The nature of that correspondence is fully stated in the appended letter of Mr. Dole of January 11th, 1894, known as his "Letter of Specifications." It is of great historical importance, embracing a review of the whole course of action of Messrs. Cleveland,

Gresham, Blount, and Willis towards the Provisional Government of Hawaii. It is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

HONOLULU, H. I., Jan. 11th, 1894.

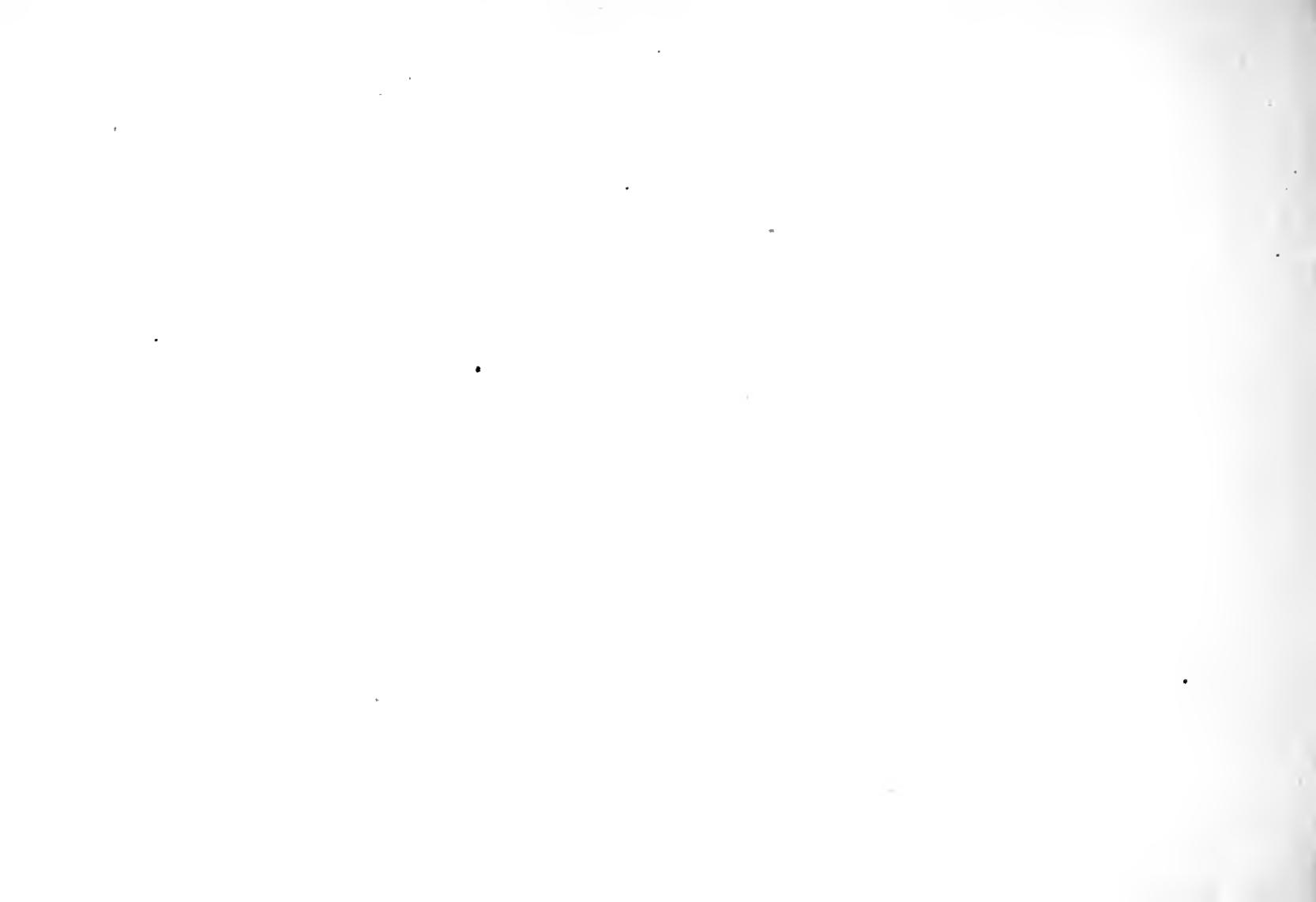
To His Excellency ALBERT S. WILLIS, United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Honolulu.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated January 1st, instant, in which you refer to my communication to you dated December 27th as "containing statements which I am fully prepared to show are not warranted by the facts, seriously affecting the President of the United States and the representatives of the United States in this country; and that these charges and statements, if accepted as the official views of your Government, demanded prompt answer and equally prompt action on the part of the Government of the United States, to the end that the condition of affairs therein described should be removed by the removal of the alleged causes."

You also refer to the intervening correspondence between us, stating that my above-mentioned communication "brings for the first time the official information that the warlike preparations described by you were caused by and intended for the diplomatic and military representatives of the United States."



HONOLULU POSTAL SERVICE.



You further state that, believing that upon further consideration I would realize the great injustice of my statements, you, on the 29th ult., wrote suggesting the withdrawal of my communication of the 27th ult., and your reply, and that no copies be given to the public or made a record of by either Government; and on the 31st stated to Mr. Damon that your note to me was "prompted by no improper or unfriendly spirit, but was intended to continue the amicable relations heretofore existing."

You further state that in my letter of December 29th, there is no "withdrawal or modification of the statements complained of, but on the contrary, an expression of readiness, implying ability, to furnish the specifications requested."

You also acknowledge the receipt of my note to you, dated January 1st, stating that it was not my intention to withdraw any of my letters, which note you state is unsigned by me. The omission of the signature was unintentional.

You conclude by stating that "I have now to ask that you furnish me at your earliest convenience with the desired specifications, as I wish to make immediate answer."

I will comply with your request. Before doing so, however, I desire to say, in reply to your communication of the 1st inst., that I have made no "charges" against the President of the United States or its representatives. On the contrary, in order that there might be no misapprehension concerning the matter, I specifically stated in my communication to you of the 27th ultimo, "that I do not claim or

intimate that this unfortunate situation has been intentionally created by you or by the Government which you represent." I still disclaim any intention of charging you or your Government with intent to produce the results and conditions described in my communication of December 27th.

The object of my communication to you was to formally bring to your attention certain facts and conditions existing in this country, what, in my opinion, were the causes of the same, and to obtain from you such information and assurances as would tend to allay the prevailing excitement and apprehension.

Concerning your statement above referred to, that my communication of December 27th contains statements which you are fully prepared to show are not warranted by the facts, I would say that it would give me great pleasure to become convinced that the alleged conditions and facts referred to by me did not in truth exist. The matters herein-after stated constitute in part the basis for my belief in the existence of the conditions referred to, and the causes producing the same; but I shall be glad to receive from you any evidence tending to remove from my mind the belief that they or any of them did exist, and assure you that upon becoming convinced that I am under misapprehension concerning any of such alleged facts, the allegations concerning the same will be immediately withdrawn.

Concerning your statement that my letter of December 29th contains "no withdrawal or modifications of the state-

ments complained of," you will pardon me if I say that I was not aware that any complaint had been made concerning any statement made by me, your reply having been primarily directed to eliciting more specific information concerning certain points.

Referring to the suggestion contained in your note of the 29th, and your interview with Mr. Damon, that I withdraw my communication of December 27th, I would say that to do so would have been in the nature of an admission that the statements therein contained were incorrect, which unfortunately in the absence of the information which you say you are prepared to present, and with certain other evidence before me, it was impossible for me to do.

Allow me to assure you that it is with deep gratification that I received your assurance that your communication to me of the 29th of December was prompted by no improper motive or unfriendly spirit, but was intended to continue the amicable relations heretofore existing and to further assure you that this and all other communications from this Government are written in the same spirit, and I trust that no statement presenting the claims and views of this Government concerning any matter of law or fact, may, by reason of its directness and distinctness be construed as otherwise than of a similar character.

In compliance with your request for certain specifications concerning my letter of December 27th, I reply thereto as follows:

First. You inquire as to the meaning of the word "attitude" as used in my letter.

I reply that the word was used by me in its ordinarily accepted sense, meaning the bearing, the posture as indicating purpose of those referred to.

You further say:

"Will you point out where and when and how the representative of the United States assumed any attitude toward the supporters of the Provisional Government or that Government itself, other than one essentially and designedly expressive of peace?"

In reply I would say that the attitude of a person is to be ascertained only by inferences drawn from the known words and acts of such person, and the conditions and circumstances under which they take place.

Some of the words and actions of the United States and its representative in this connection, and the conditions and circumstances attendant thereupon, from which its intentions and attitude toward the Provisional Government must be inferred, are as follows:

1. A treaty of annexation had been negotiated between the Provisional Government and the United States Government and presented to the Senate for ratification. This treaty was withdrawn by President Cleveland immediately upon his entering office without prior notice to this Government or its representatives of his intention so to do, or of his reasons for such action.

2. Immediately thereafter the President appointed Hon. James H. Blount a special commissioner to Hawaii to investigate the condition of affairs at Hawaii.

The knowledge of such appointment was withheld from the representatives of the Government at Washington. The press having announced the appointment, the Hawaiian representatives applied to the State department for information concerning the same. The Secretary of State refused to state the objects of the mission or even to admit that a commissioner had been appointed.

3. On the 19th day of June, 1893, Mr. Thurston, Hawaiian Minister at Washington, addressed a communication to Mr. Gresham, Secretary of State, in which the following language is used, viz.:

"I am directed by my Government to represent to you that, while the Hawaiian Government has full confidence in the good faith of the United States towards Hawaii in and concerning its treatment of the relations between the two countries, it seems proper that it should be informed as to the effect the present uncertainty as to the ultimate course to be pursued has upon the situation in Hawaii.

"The long continued delay and uncertainty keeps the entire community in a feverish state of mind, by reason of which business is seriously affected, capital is rendered timid, thereby hampering all enterprises which are conducting their business on credit; the Government's credit and ability to borrow is prejudiced; the expenses of the Govern-

ment are largely increased by the necessity of maintaining a considerable armed force for the protection of public order, and the enemies of the Government are encouraged to conspire against law and order, all of which is highly prejudicial and injurious, not only to the Hawaiians, but to the very large amount of American capital invested in Hawaii, and the mutual trade now being conducted between the two countries.

"It is important for the Hawaiian Government to know the intentions of the United States Government concerning annexation at as early a date as possible; as, if annexation is not to take place, the methods of treating local conditions in Hawaii must be radically different from those to be pursued if annexation is to take place.

"It is also important that whatever the intentions of the United States Government may be, concerning the subject matter, the Hawaiian Government be informed what such intentions are before the same are made public, in order that it may consider the situation with full knowledge of all its aspects, and decide upon such course of action as may be necessary to preserve order and protect the interests of the people of Hawaii.

"For the reasons above stated I respectfully request that a decision may be arrived at and communicated as speedily as is consistent with the interests of the United States."

No reply has ever been made to such communication.

4. Upon the arrival of Mr. Blount in the country he did

not communicate or in any manner intimate to the Hawaiian Government that his investigations were to be directed toward the right of existence of the Government to whom he was accredited. All of his investigations and examinations were private, and such persons only were examined as he chose to call.

5. An examination of his report since published, shows that there are statements made by approximately sixty Royalist and twenty supporters of the Provisional Government.

That he had obtained no statement from the four members of the Cabinet voted out three days before the revolutionary attempt of the Queen, although he has obtained exhaustive statements from their Royalist successors.

That he has examined only two of the thirteen members of the Committee of Safety, one of the original four members of the Executive Council of the Provisional Government, three of the original fourteen members of the Advisory Council, two of the eight speakers who addressed the mass meeting called by the Committee of Safety on the day prior to the establishment of the Provisional Government, and but one of the eight field and staff officers, and none of the seventeen line officers in command of the forces of the Provisional Government, and none of the five commissioners sent to Washington, although all of such men omitted to be examined were eye witnesses and active participants in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the Provisional Government, and are men of character and

standing in the community, while a number of those examined on the royalist side are irresponsible characters.

6. Upon the 15th day of May, 1893, Mr. Blount, without first communicating to this Government what his instructions were or his intention so to do, published his official instructions in a Honolulu newspaper in the form of an address "to the People of the Hawaiian Islands," and concluded with the following words: "While I shall refrain from interference between conflicting forces, of whatever nationality, for supremacy, I will protect American citizens not participating in such conflict."

7. Although Mr. Blount's report is official in character, vitally affects this Government, is distinctly hostile to it in tone and conclusions, no request to this Government for explanation of the charges therein made was received, nor opportunity to reply thereto, or notice of its contents given prior to its publication. The first information concerning the contents of such report was obtained by this Government through published extracts in American papers, dated November 20th last, no official copy thereof being furnished the Hawaiian Minister at Washington until November 25th, and none received by this Government at Honolulu until December 22nd last, such copies having been furnished only after several applications therefor to the State department.

8. On November 7, you having arrived in Honolulu, presented your credentials to this Government as American Minister, with the usual declarations of friendship and regard,

and were duly received and acknowledged. Simultaneously therewith, Admiral Skerrett was suddenly and unexpectedly removed, and Rear-Admiral Irwin appointed to the command of the American naval forces in Honolulu. Such change was almost universally interpreted by the press of the United States as having a bearing upon the contemplated execution of the announced policy of the President concerning Hawaii. The extract hereafter contained, from the *New York Herald*, is a sample of the interpretation placed thereon by the press of your own country favorable to such policy.

I do not claim or intimate that the personnel of the commanding officer of the United States forces is of any concern to the Government, nor suggest that the interpretation placed thereon by the American press is correct, nor that your Government is responsible for such interpretation. This incident is mentioned simply as part of the *res gestae* of the case which this Government had before it, and as one of the many things which it was obliged to consider in drawing its inferences as to what the intentions of your Government were.

9. Upon the 8th of November last the *New York Herald* published a statement from its Washington correspondent, from which I make the following extracts:

"A diplomatic bombshell will burst within the next few days and the report will be heard throughout the entire world.

"The bomb will be thrown by an accredited representative of the United States Government, and he will hurl it against the badly conceived and worse managed Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

"If Minister Willis and Rear-Admiral Irwin arrived in Honolulu on schedule there would be even livelier times in the capital city of the Hawaiian Islands to-day than there is in the metropolis of the United States. * * *

"Briefly stated, the present administration will do all in its power to restore the condition of affairs which existed in Hawaii at the time Minister Stevens * * * brought about the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani. * * *

"The same force, that of the United States Government, which made the Provisional Government possible has sustained them in power to this day. They could not have made the revolution of which they were the head center, a success except for the support given them by the administration in Washington, and there is every reason to believe * * * that the Provisional Government would have gone down long ago but for this same support. * * *

"The fact that a new Minister has been sent to Honolulu to succeed Minister Stevens and that Rear Admiral Irwin has been sent to relieve Commodore Skerrett, has been accepted in many instances as an inkling of the Administration's policy towards Hawaii.

"This means that the Queen will be restored to her throne and the Provisional Government, representing only a

small part of the people of Hawaii, will soon be a thing of the past."

I do not intimate that the United States Government is responsible for the utterances of the *Herald*, but cite the above as one of several instances in which information of intended acts on the part of your Government vital to this Government has been denied to this Government, and first been made known to it through the public press.

10. On Nov. 11 the papers of the United States published a letter from the Secretary of State to the President, dated Oct. 18, 1893. No previous notice had been given to this Government of the contents of such letter or of the intention to make it public.

In that letter the Secretary, referring to the initiation of this Government, says :

"They relied on no military force of their own, for they had none worthy of the name. The Provisional Government was established by the action of the American Minister and the presence of the troops landed from the *Boston*, and its continued existence is due to the belief of the Hawaiians that if they made an effort to overthrow it they would encounter the armed forces of the United States.

"The earnest appeals to the American Minister for military protection by the officers of the Provisional Government after it had been recognized show the utter absurdity of the claim that it was established by a successful revolution of the people of the Islands.

"These appeals were a confession by the men who made them of their uneasiness and timidity. Courageous men, conscious of their strength and the justice of their cause, do not thus act.

"Should not the great wrong done to a feeble but independent state by an abuse of the authority of the United States be undone by restoring the legitimate Government? Anything short of that will not, I respectfully submit, satisfy the demands of justice * * * Our Government was the first to recognize the independence of the Islands, and it should be last to acquire sovereignty over them by force and fraud."

You have intimated in your communication dated December 2d that the foregoing letter, "being a domestic transaction, is not the subject of diplomatic representation," which statement you have reiterated in your communication of January 1st.

I must submit, however, that an official communication from the Chief of the Department of State to the President, in which he charges this Government and its officers with conspiracy, weakness, timidity and fraud, and recommends its subversion, which letter is officially furnished to and published by the public press, without any information concerning the same being afforded to this Government, is not a "domestic transaction," and is pre-eminently a proper subject for inquiry on the part of this Government, as to the intentions of your Government concerning the subject matter.

11. On November 14th, Mr. Thurston, Hawaiian Minister at Washington, called upon the Secretary of State and inquired if the above letter was authentic, and was assured by Mr. Gresham that it was.

Mr. Thurston then said :

"I am not at liberty at present to answer that question. It is a matter concerning which I will speak to the President and talk with you more fully this afternoon."

In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Gresham further said to Mr. Thurston :

"I have already answered your first question to the effect that the letter published (Secretary Gresham to the President) was authentic and a correct statement of the policy of the United States. As to your second question, as to whether force is to be used by the United States to restore the Queen, all that I am at liberty to state is that Mr. Willis has no instructions to do anything which will cause injury to life or property of anyone at the islands. Further than this that I am not at liberty to state what his instructions are. You can draw your own inferences from my statement and allay any apprehension which may have been caused by what has been published."

Mr. Thurston further said to Mr. Gresham :

"Your answer does not convey the information which I requested. What I desire is to obtain information which will guide my Government in their action. If they know that force is to be used by you their course of action will

necessarily be different from what it otherwise would be. The definite information from me that you intend to use force may be the means of preventing them from using force and causing bloodshed."

To which Mr. Gresham replied :

"Our relations in the past have been pleasant and I want them to continue to be so in the future, and to be perfectly courteous to you, but I cannot at present answer you more fully than I have."

12. On the 16th of last November there was published in the Honolulu *Star* an interview with you, with the accompanying statement that the proofs had been revised by you. The following are extracts therefrom, purporting to be statements made by you :

"You are authorized to say from me that no change in the present situation will take place for several weeks. I brought with me certain instructions. * * * Since my arrival here contingencies have arisen about which neither the United States Government nor myself were aware when I left Washington. * * * I forwarded my dispatches to Washington by to-day's steamer, and until I receive an answer to them no change will take place in the present situation 'nor will any be allowed.'"

"What do you mean by the expression 'nor will any be allowed'?"

"I mean just this: that until the time comes for me to carry out my instructions the peace and good order of this

community will be kept undisturbed in the interests of humanity. That any attempt made by any person or persons to make trouble will be promptly checked and punished. You may put the matter more plainly and say that even if the Provisional Government discharged the whole of its troops to-day no lawlessness would be allowed for one moment under the present situation of affairs."

* * * * *

"The whole Hawaiian question is now in abeyance and nothing the newspapers can say or do will alter the situation one iota. * * * There is not the slightest necessity for any one to stay out of bed nights for fear of any trouble of any kind, for none will be permitted."

In the Honolulu *Bulletin* of November 17th last there is published what purports to be a letter signed by yourself, in which you state concerning the above-mentioned interview: "The interview in the *Star* was submitted to me, but I did not scrutinize it carefully. It contains several expressions which are misleading, due, I am sure, not to any intention on the part of the writer."

There is no specification as to what the misleading portions are, although you have since verbally informed me in substance that you did not intend to use such words and had no intention of exercising authority inconsistent with that of the Government.

13. On November 17th last the *Hawaiian Star* published a statement purporting to be a report of remarks made by

you to a delegation of the American League, in which the following words are stated to have been used by you:

"I have my instructions, which I cannot divulge. * * * But this much I can say: That the policy of the United States is already formulated regarding these islands, and that nothing which can be said or done, either here or there, can avail anything now. I do not come here as did Mr. Blount. I come here as an executive officer. I come to act. When the proper time comes I *shall* act. * * * I wish to state positively that any outside interference will not be tolerated by the United States."

I am not aware that you have ever disavowed the correctness of this report.

14. On November 29th last, having that day for the first time received information through the Hawaiian Minister at Washington of the contents of Mr. Gresham's letter to the President and of his statements concerning the same, and his refusal to state whether it was the intention of your Government to carry out its policy by force, I called upon you, in company with the Attorney-General, stated to you the substance of my information, and asked you what the intentions of your Government were in relation to Mr. Gresham's recommendations. You replied that you were not at liberty to tell us, but would do so as soon as you could.

15. Immediately thereafter I addressed a communication to you revoking the general permission theretofore granted to the United States forces to land for drill, and a further

communication formally stating to you the information received by me concerning said letter of Mr. Gresham and asking you the following questions:

"I desire to inquire of you whether the published reports of such letter of Secretary Gresham are substantially correct? If they are I feel that it is due this Government that it shonld be informed of the intention of your Government in relation to the suggestions contained in the said letter of Mr. Gresham."

On December 2nd you replied to such letter stating that, "as to the letter of Mr. Gresham, I have the honor to call your attention to the fact, as shown by you, that it is a communication from a member of the Cabinet to the President of the United States, and being a domestic transaction is not the subject of diplomatic representation. Answering your note further, I must express my sincere regret that it is not in my power at present to inform you of the views or intentions of the United States."

16. On December 4 last, President Cleveland transmitted his annual message to Congress, in which the following language was used concerning Hawaii:

Referring to Mr. Blount's report he said, "Upon the facts developed it seemed to me the only honorable course for our Government to pursue was to undo the wrong that had been done by those representing us, and to restore, as far as practicable, the status existing at the time of our forcible intervention. With a view of accomplishing this result within

the constitutional limits of executive power, * * * c*
present Minister at Honolulu has received appropriate instructions to that end."

17. On December 14th last the United States dispatch boat *Corwin* arrived in Honolulu from San Francisco, bringing dispatches to yourself. No mail was allowed to be brought by her, but the press of Honolulu obtained from persons on board of her and published the above extract from the President's message. But for such accidental information, no information concerning the same would have been obtained by this Government until the arrival of the *Alameda* on December 22d.

Up to the time of the arrival of the *Corwin* the United States naval officers in port were in the habit of coming ashore in citizen's dress. The crews received the usual liberty on shore and no unusual warlike preparations were visible on board.

Immediately upon the arrival of the *Corwin* the liberty of the crews was stopped, as was that of most of the officers. Those who came on shore were in service uniform. Rifles were stacked, cartridge belts were filled with ball cartridges and knapsacks packed for immediate use were conspicuous on the decks of the ships, and were seen there by visiting citizens, who, in reply to inquiry as to the meaning of such preparations, were informed by the officers that they were ready to land at a moment's notice. When asked if the landing would be to protect or fight us, the reply of the

officers of the *Philadelphia* was that no one on board knew what orders would be received.

18. It was known at this time that several of the wives of the United States naval officers temporarily in Honolulu were packing up their baggage preparatory for immediate removal in view of possible hostilities.

19. It was also known that you were in frequent communication with the ex-Queen, and leading royalists were constantly reiterating that you were going to immediately restore the Queen by force.

As a sample of the innumerable assertions of this character is the following, made by Mr. J. O. Carter, the ex-Queen's most trusted councillor and confidant, a gentleman who was then known to be in consultation with you and the ex-Queen, and who appears as the attesting witness, to the exclusion of the former members of her cabinet, to her proposition of amnesty hereunder referred to.

Mr. Carter warned his nephew, Mr. C. L. Carter, a supporter of the Provisional Government, that restoration was certain, that force would be used by the United States for that purpose, and that he ought to consider the rights of his family and not risk his life in opposing the inevitable.

This information was from one of the sources from which numerous prophesies of future action on the part of the United States had emanated, with almost invariable correctness.

20. It was the almost well-nigh universal belief in the

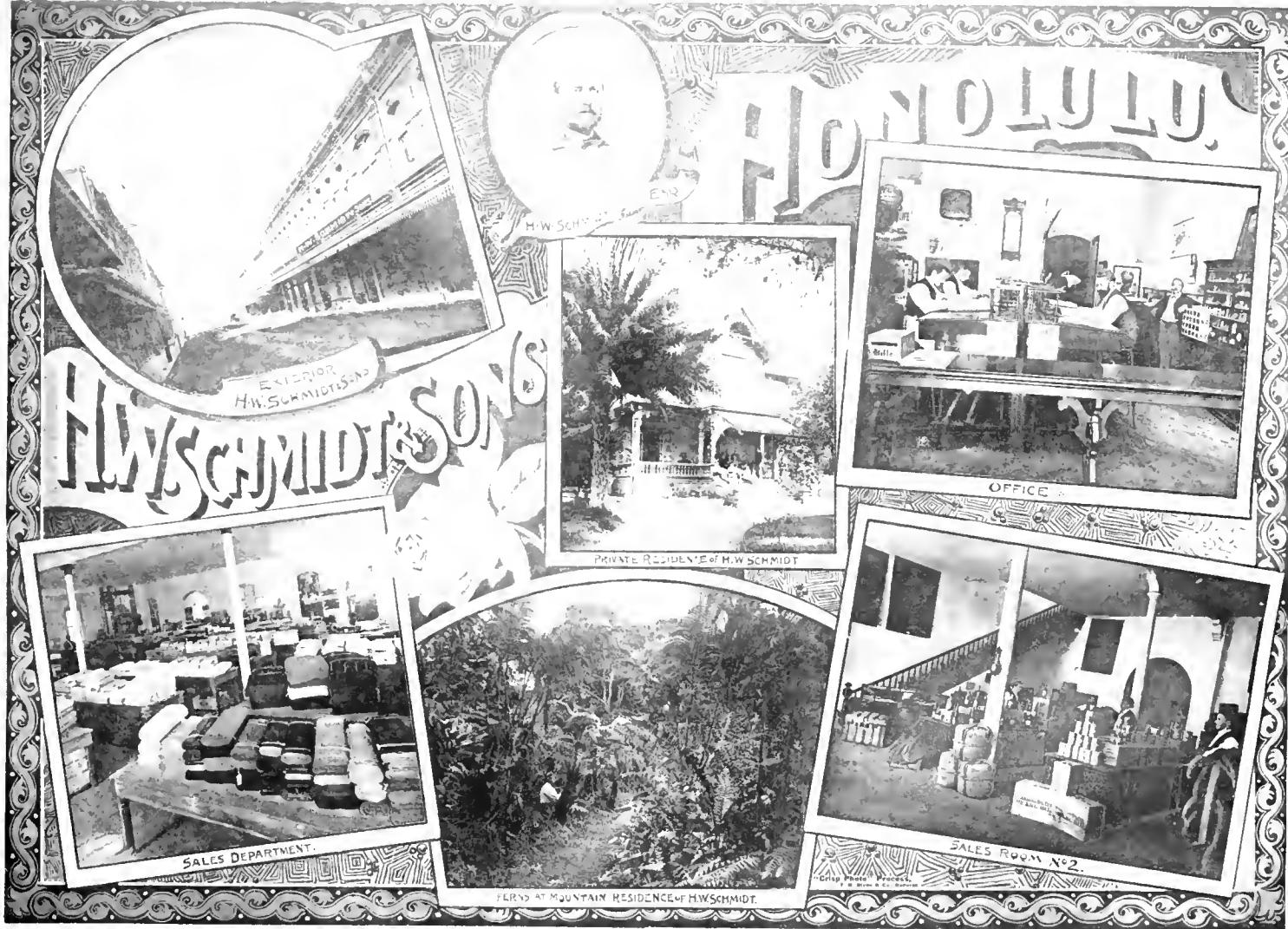
city that you were about to attempt to land the naval forces of the United States to enforce the execution of the President's policy.

In anticipation thereof, for a number of days, the wharves were lined with crowds of people, among them prominent royalists, waiting to see the United States troops land to restore the Queen.

21. On December 18th Mr. H. F. Glade, Consul for Germany, called upon you and in substance asked if you could not speak out and relieve the public from the state of extreme tension they were in, which was becoming unbearable, to which you replied in substance that you were aware of the conditions and were making every effort to bring the matter to a speedy determination, and would act within forty-eight hours.

22. On December 16th, it being reported that the *Corwin* was, at an early date, to return to San Francisco, the Attorney-General called upon you, stating that there would be no regular mail for nearly three weeks and asked permission to forward Hawaiian Government dispatches by her, which permission you refused, stating that your instructions would not permit it.

23. On December 18th, Major Wodehouse, the British Minister, and Mr. Fujii, the Japanese diplomatic representative, both asked permission to land troops from their respective warships for the purpose of protecting their respective legations, which permission was granted by the Government.





24. In view of the existing condition, Mr. Fujii, the Japanese diplomatic representative, sent word to a number of prominent American supporters of the Provisional Government, offering the use of the Japanese legation as a refuge for their families in case of hostilities.

25. On December 18th last, I addressed to you a communication containing the following words: "I am informed that you are in communication with Liliuokalani, the ex-Queen, with a view of re-establishing the monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands and of supporting her pretensions to the sovereignty. Will you inform me if this report is true or if you are acting in any way hostile to this Government. * * * You will pardon me for pressing you for an immediate answer."

26. On December 19th you called upon, and made a verbal address to me, furnishing me with a manuscript copy of your remarks, from which I make the following extracts:

"The President also regrets, as do I, that any secrecy should have surrounded the interchange of views between our two Governments. I may say this, however, that the secrecy thus far observed has been in the interest and for the safety of all your people. * * *

Upon the facts embodied in Mr. Blount's reports, the President has arrived at certain conclusions and determined upon a certain course of action with which it becomes my duty to acquaint you:

"The Provisional Government was not established by the

Hawaiian people or with their consent or acquiescence, nor has it since existed with their consent. * * * (Other reasons are set forth for the conclusions reached).

"In view of these conclusions I was instructed by the President to take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the Queen of this determination and of his views as to the responsibility of our Government. * * *

"I was instructed at the same time to inform the Queen that when reinstated that the President expected that she would pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her. * * *

"In obedience to the command of the President I have secured the Queen's agreement to this course. * * *

"It becomes my further duty to advise you, sir, the Executive of the Provisional Government, and your Ministers, of the President's determination of the question which your action and that of the Queen devolved upon him, and that you are expected to promptly relinquish to her constitutional authority. And now, Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Provisional Government, with a deep and solemn sense of the gravity of the situation, * * * in the name and by the authority of the United States of America, I submit to you the question: Are you willing to abide by the decision of the President?"

27. Upon the 23d of December I replied to the foregoing communication in the negative.

Up to the time of sending you my communication of December 27th no further communication had been received by me from you, and no assurance had been received that force was not to be used nor what your further intentions were concerning this Government.

28. During your nearly two months' residence in this city you and your family have declined the customary social courtesies usually extended to those occupying your official position, on the specified ground that it was not deemed best under existing circumstances to accept such civilities.

I do not for a moment intimate that such a course is improper or that it is a subject for criticism. It is simply referred to by me as an existing fact bearing upon your relations to this Government and germane in considering the question of your attitude thereto. It would not have been referred to by me except in response to your inquiry.

In the absence of specific, definite information as to the intentions of your Government, the foregoing are some of the facts from which this Government has been obliged to infer what such intentions were, and which, considered as a whole constitute the "attitude" toward this Government.

It may be that the proper logical deduction and inference from the foregoing facts is that the "attitude" of the United States and its representative toward the Provisional Government is and has been "one essentially and designedly expressive of peace." It will give me the greatest pleasure to receive assurances to that effect; but I submit that under

the circumstances and in the absence of such assurances they are capable of another construction, to a sufficient extent, at least to warrant the question which I have asked you in my communication of December 27th. Your second request for information is as follows:

"You assert that at the time of my arrival in this country the forces of this Government were organized and amply sufficient to suppress any internal disorder. Will you inform me what connection this statement has, or is designed to have, with the Government of the United States, or with the future action of its representative?"

I reply that there are two reasons for the said statement. First, that already stated in my letter of December 17th, that "in consequence of your attitude the enemies of the Government believing in your intentions to restore the monarchy, by force have become emboldened, etc.," and second, that by reason of my inability to ascertain whether your Government proposed to use force in support of its policy of restoration I was obliged to act as though it did so intend; as a result of which this Government has been obliged to increase its forces and has been subjected to the necessity of increased watchfulness and large additional expense, but which for such attitude would have been unnecessary.

The effect which I had hoped this communication might have upon the future action of the representative of the United States was that he might give such assurances that

such additional watchfulness and expense might be avoided.

Your third request is for the time, place and subject matter of the "language" used by yourself in public and in communication to this Government. The answer to this is covered by my reply to your first inquiry.

Your fourth inquiry is as to what particular words in the published letter from Secretary Gresham and in the President's message, and which message of the President, I referred to.

I reply that certain of the words of the Secretary and President which I deem pertinent to the subject matter have already been quoted in my reply to your first inquiry, although there are others obviously bearing on the same subject.

I have already replied to you that I referred to the President's first message in my letter dated the 27th, having actually been written on the 26th of December and forwarded to you before I had knowledge of the contents of the second message.

Your fifth inquiry is as to the time and contents of your communications which were "ambiguous." I have enumerated them in my reply to your first inquiry. The ambiguity consists in the reiterated statement that you proposed to do some act and carry out certain instructions, which all the surrounding circumstances indicated were inimical to this Government, without stating what that act or what those instructions were, and while presenting and speaking assurances of friendship and amity, without the consent of this Government negotiating with its enemies for its subversion, and declining to state what your intentions were.

Such utterances and actions were so inconsistent one with the other—with international rules of comity and the past relations and international policy of the two Governments, as to be not only ambiguous, but incomprehensible to this Government.

Your sixth inquiry is as to when, where and to whom you declared that you intended to do some act when the proper time arrived. The reply to your first inquiry covers this also.

Your seventh inquiry is to the time and manner when the Government has sought the assurance that force would not be used. The answer is contained in my reply to your first inquiry.

You finally ask my "careful consideration" of the following statement contained in my letter.

"Your action has unfortunately aroused the passions of all parties and made it probable that disturbances may be created at any moment," and say that you "refuse to believe that upon re-examination you (I) will feel at liberty to affix your (my) official signature to such an extraordinary declaration."

In reply I beg to state that I have resided in this country for nearly fifty years, and had intimate personal knowledge of the conditions prevailing during the riot of 1874 and the revolutions of 1887, 1889 and 1893, and with all deliberation I state of my own knowledge that during such periods there has never been a time when the country has been subjected

to such strain and excitement as during the eight days following the arrival of the Corwin. The business of the entire community was practically suspended and its time and energy devoted to an exciting and absorbing consideration of the political situation and to military preparation to meet unknown contingencies, which state of things has since been fortunately allayed by advices from America furnished in reports of the President's special Hawaiian message to Congress and his instructions to your Excellency, information which made a satisfactory and favorable response to the inquiry of my letter to you of December 27th.

I also state with equal deliberation that such condition was produced and maintained by reason of your actions and declarations and the actions and declarations of your Government and the circumstances and uncertainties attendant thereupon, as detailed in my letter of December 27th and herein.

I make the statement in no spirit of unfriendliness to you or your Government, but as an historical fact, which, if not already known to you, should, in the interests of both countries, be made known to you.

In conclusion, I beg to refer to the statement in your communication of January 1st, wherein you state that it is a source of "sincere and profound regret" that my letter "brings for the first time the official information that the warlike preparations described by you were caused by and intended for the diplomatic and military representatives of the United States."

In reply, I would say that such regret on your part at re-

ceiving such information cannot exceed the sincerity and profoundness of my own regret that such a condition should exist.

Such regret on my part is only equalled by inability to understand how it has come about that a Government and a community which is to-day more closely connected with the United States by ties of commerce, friendship and blood than any other lying beyond its borders, which values your friendship above that of all other nations, which fully admits and appreciates the many and deep obligations which it is under to your Government and people, which has done you and your country no wrong, has been forced into a position where, in defense of their very right to exist, they have been obliged to take up arms to meet the possible hostility of that country, whose flag they revere and whose principles of liberty they love.

I cannot but believe that it has arisen through a misunderstanding of facts on the part of your Government, and a mutual apprehension of motives and intentions, which may, I sincerely hope, at an early day, be cleared away.

Allow me, in closing, to thank you, Mr. Minister, for your frequent expressions of personal regard and for the evident sincerity of purpose displayed by you under recent trying circumstances, and to assure you of my deep appreciation thereof.

I have the honor to assure you that, with highest consideration, I am

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.



PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

SUPPLEMENT A.

REPORT OF COL. J. H. BLOUNT.

HONOLULU, H. I., July 17th, 1893.

The Hon. WALTER Q. GRESHAM, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Sir: On the 11th of March, 1893, I was appointed by the President of the United States as Special Commissioner to the Hawaiian Islands. At the same time the following instructions were given to me by you:

* * * * *

On the 29th of the same month I reached the City of Honolulu. The American Minister, the Hon. John L. Stevens, accompanied by a committee from the Annexation Club, came on board the vessel which had brought me. He informed me that this club had rented an elegant house, well furnished, and provided servants and a carriage and horses for my use; that I could pay for this accommodation just what I chose, from nothing up. He urged me very earnestly to accept the offer. I declined it, and informed him that I should go to a hotel.

The committee soon after this renewed the offer, which I again declined.

Soon afterward the ex-Queen, through her Chamberlain, tendered her carriage to convey me to my hotel. This I courteously declined.

I located myself at the Hawaiian Hotel. For several days I was engaged receiving calls from persons of all classes and of various political views. I soon became conscious of the fact that all minds were quietly and anxiously looking to see what action the Government of the United States would take,

The troops from the Boston were doing military duty for the Provisional Government. The American flag was floating over the Government building. Within it the Provisional Government conducted its business under an American protectorate, to be continued, according to the avowed purpose of the American Minister, during negotiations with the United States for annexation.

My instructions directed me to make inquiries which, in the interest of candor and truth, could not be done when the minds of thousands of Hawaiian citizens were full of uncertainty as to what the presence of American troops, the American flag and the American protectorate implied. It seemed necessary that all these influences must be withdrawn before those inquiries could be prosecuted in a manner befitting the dignity and power of the United States.

Inspired with such feelings and confident no disorder would ensue, I directed the removal of the flag of the United States from the Government building and the return of the American troops to their vessels. This was accomplished without any demonstration of joy or grief on the part of the populace.

The afternoon before, in an interview with President Dole, in response to my inquiry, he said that the Provisional Govern-

ment was now able to preserve order, although it could not have done so for several weeks after the proclamation establishing it.

In the evening of the same day the American Minister called on me with a Mr. Walter G. Smith, who, he said, desired to make an important communication to me and whom he knew to be very intelligent and reliable. Thereupon Mr. Smith, with intense gravity, informed me that he knew beyond doubt that it had been arranged between the Queen and the Japanese Commissioner that if the American flag and troops were removed the troops from the Japanese man-of-war *Naniwa* would land and reinstate the Queen.

Mr. Smith was the editor of the *Hawaiian Star*, established by the Annexation Club for the purpose of advocating annexation.

The American Minister expressed his belief in the statement of Mr. Smith, and urged the importance of the American troops remaining on shore until I could communicate with you and you could have the opportunity to communicate with the Japanese Government and obtain from it assurances that Japanese troops would not be landed to enforce any policy on the Government or people of the Hawaiian Islands.

I was not impressed much with these statements.

When the Japanese Commissioner learned that the presence of the Japanese man-of-war was giving currency to suggestions that his Government intended to interfere with domestic affairs here, he wrote to his Government asking that the vessel be or-

dered away, which was done. He expressed to me his deep regret that any one should charge that the empire of Japan, having so many reasons to value the friendship of the Government of the United States, would consent to offend that Government by interfering in the political conflicts in these islands, to which it was averse.

In the light of subsequent events I trust the correctness of my action will be the more fully justified.

The Provisional Government left to its own preservation, the people freed from any fear of free intercourse with me in so far as my action could accomplish it, the disposition of the minds of all people to peace pending the consideration by the Government of the United States as to what should be its action in connection with affairs here, cleared the way for me to commence the investigation with which I was charged.

The causes of the revolution culminating in the dethronement of the Queen and the establishment of the Provisional Government, January 17th, 1893, are remote and proximate. A brief presentation of the former will aid in a fuller apprehension of the latter.

* * * * *

On the 18th of February, 1874, David Kalakaua was proclaimed King. In 1875 a treaty of commercial reciprocity between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands was ratified, and the laws necessary to carry it into operation were enacted in 1876. It provided, as you are aware, for the free importation into the United States of several articles among

which was muscavado, brown, and all other unrefined sugars, syrups of sugar cane, melada, and molasses, produced in the Hawaiian Islands.

From it there came to the islands an intoxicating increase of wealth, a new labor system, an Asiatic population, an alienation between the native and white races, an impoverishment of the former, an enrichment of the latter, and the many so-called revolutions, which are the foundation for the opinion that stable government cannot be maintained.

* * * * *

In the year 1845, under the influence of white residents, the lands were so distributed between the Crown, the Government, the chiefs, and the people as to leave the latter with an insignificant interest in lands—27,830 acres.

The story of this division is discreditable to King, chiefs, and white residents, but would be tedious here. The chiefs became largely indebted to the whites, and thus the foundation for the large holdings of the latter was laid.

Prior to 1876 the Kings were controlled largely by such men as Dr. Judd, Mr. Wyllie, and other leading white citizens holding positions in their Cabinets.

A King rarely changed his Cabinet. The important offices were held by white men. A feeling of amity existed between the native and foreign races unmarred by hostile conflict. It should be noted that at this period the native generally knew how to read and write his native tongue, into which the Bible and a few English works were translated. To this,

native newspapers of extensive circulation contributed to the awakening of his intellect. He also generally read and wrote English.

From 1820 to 1866 missionaries of various nationalities, especially American, with unselfishness, toil, patience, and piety, had devoted themselves to the improvement of the natives. They gave them a language, a religion, and an immense movement on the lines of civilization. In process of time the descendants of these good men grew up in secular pursuits. Superior by nature, education, and other opportunities, they acquired wealth. They sought to succeed to the political control exercised by their fathers. The reverend missionary disappeared. In his stead there came the Anglo-Saxon in the person of his son, ambitious to acquire wealth and to continue that political control reverently conceded to his pious ancestor. Hence, in satire, the native designated him a "missionary," which has become a campaign phrase of wonderful potency. Other white foreigners came into the country, especially Americans, English, and Germans. These, as a rule, did not become naturalized and participate in the voting franchise. Business and race affiliation occasioned sympathy and co-operation between these two classes of persons of foreign extraction.

Does this narration of facts portray a situation in a Government in whole or in part representative favorable to the ambition of a leader who will espouse the native cause? Would it be strange for him to stir the native heart by picturing a system of political control under which the foreigner had

wickedly become possessed of the soil, degraded free labor by an uncivilized system of coolie labor, prostituted society by injecting into it a people hostile to Christianity and the civilization of the nineteenth century, exposed their own daughters to the evil influences, of an overwhelming male population of a degraded type, implanted Japanese and Chinese women almost insensible to feelings of chastity, and then loudly boasted of their Christianity?

On the other hand, was it not natural for the white race to vaunt their wealth and intelligence, their Christian success in rescuing the native from barbarism, their gift of a Government regal in name but containing many of the principles of freedom; to find in the natives defective intelligence, tendencies to idolatry, to race prejudice, and a disposition under the influence of white and half-white leaders to exercise political domination; to speak of their thriftlessness in private life and susceptibility to bribes in legislative action; to proclaim the unehasteness of native women, and to take at all hazards the direction of public affairs from the native?

With such a powerful tendency to divergence and political strife, with its attendant bitterness and exaggerations, we must enter upon the field of inquiry pointed out in your instructions.

It is not my purpose to take up this racial controversy at its birth, but when it had reached striking proportions and powerfully acted in the evolution of grave political events culminating in the present status. Nor shall I relate all the minute details of political controversy at any given period, but only

such and to such extent as may illustrate the purpose just indicated.

It has already appeared that under the Constitution of 1852 the Legislature consisted of two bodies—one elected by the people and the other chosen by the King—and that no property qualifications hindered the right of suffrage. The King and people through the two bodies held a check on each other. It has also been shown that in 1864 by a royal proclamation a new Constitution, sanctioned by a Cabinet of prominent white men, was established, restricting the right of suffrage and combining the representative and nobles into one body. This latter provision was designed to strengthen the power of the Crown by removing a body distinctly representative. This instrument remained in force twenty-three years. The Crown appointed the nobles generally from white men of property and intelligence. In like manner the King selected his Cabinet. These remained in office for a long series of years and directed the general conduct of public affairs.

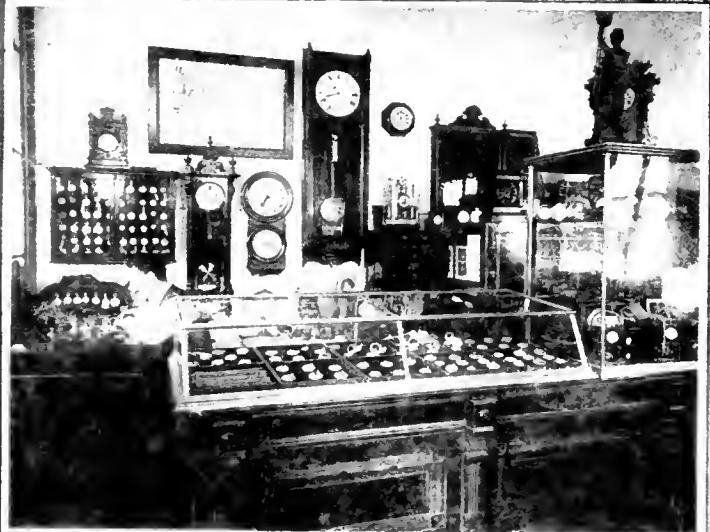
Chief Justice Judd of the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands, in a formal statement, uses this language:

"Under every Constitution prior to 1887 the Ministers were appointed by the King and removed by him; but until Kalakaua's reign it was a very rare thing that any King changed his Ministry. They had a pretty long lease of political life. My father was Minister for seven or ten years, and Mr. Wyllie for a longer period. It was a very rare political occurrence and made a great sensation when a change was made. Under

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Kalakaua things were different. I think we had twenty-six different Cabinets during his reign."

The record discloses thirteen Cabinets. Two of these were directly forced on him by the reformers. Of the others, six were in sympathy with the reformers and eminent in their confidence. The great stir in Cabinet changes commenced with the Gibson Cabinet in 1882. He was a man of large information, free from all suspicion of bribery, politically ambitious, and led the natives and some whites.

It may not be amiss to present some of the criticisms against Kalakaua and his party formally filed with me by Prof. W. D. Alexander, a representative reformer.

On the 12th of February, 1874, Kalakaua was elected King by the Legislature. The popular choice lay between him and the Queen Dowager.

In regard to this, Mr. Alexander says that "the Cabinet and the American Party used all their influence in favor of the former, while the English favored Queen Emma, who was devoted to their interest."

Notwithstanding there were objections to Kalakaua's character, he says: "It was believed, however, that if Queen Emma should be elected there would be no hope of our obtaining a reciprocity treaty with the United States."

He gives an account of various obnoxious measures advocated by the King which were defeated.

In 1882 he says the race issue was raised by Mr. Gibson, and only two white men were elected to the Legislature on the Islands.

A bill prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to natives was repealed at this session.

A \$10,000,000 loan bill was again introduced, but was shelved in committee. The appropriation bill was swelled to double the estimated receipts of the Government, including \$30,000 for coronation expenses, besides large sums for military expenses, foreign embassies, etc.

A bill was reported giving the King power to appoint District Justices, which had formerly been done by the Justices of the Supreme Court.

A million of dollars of silver was coined by the King, worth 84 cents to the dollar, which was intended to be exchanged for gold bonds at par, under the loan act of 1882. This proceeding was enjoined by the court. The Privy Council declared the coin to be of the legal value expressed on their face, subject to the legal-tender act, and they were gradually put into circulation. A profit of \$150,000 is said to have been made on this transaction.

In 1884 a reform Legislature was elected. A lottery bill, an opium-license bill and an \$8,000,000 loan bill were defeated.

In the election for the Legislature of 1886 it is alleged that by the use of gin, chiefly furnished by the King, and by the use of his patronage, it was carried against the reform party; that out of twenty-eight candidates, twenty-six were office-holders—one a tax assessor and one the Queen's secretary. There was only one white man on the Government ticket—Gibson's son-in-law. Only ten reform candidates were elected. In this

Legislature an opium bill was passed providing for a license for four years, to be granted by the Minister of the Interior, with the consent of the King, for \$30,000 per annum.

Another act was passed to create an Hawaiian Board of Health, consisting of five native doctors, appointed by the King, with power to issue certificates to native kahunas (doctors) to practice medicine.

A \$2,000,000 loan bill was passed, which was used largely in taking up bonds on a former loan.

It is claimed that in granting the lottery franchise the King fraudulently obtained \$75,000 for the franchise, and then sold it to another person, and that subsequently the King was compelled to refund the same.

These are the principal allegations on which the revolution of 1887 is justified.

None of the legislation complained of would have been considered a cause for revolution in any one of the United States, but would have been used in the elections to expel the authors from power. The alleged corrupt action of the King could have been avoided by more careful legislation and would have been a complete remedy for the future.

The rate of taxation on real or personal property never exceeded 1 per cent.

To all this the answer comes from the reformers: "The native is unfit for government, and his power must be curtailed."

The general belief that the King had accepted what is termed the opium bribe and the failure of his efforts to unite the Sa-

moan Islands with his own kingdom had a depressing influence on his friends, and his opponents used it with all the effect they could.

The last Cabinet prior to the revolution of 1887 was anti-reform. Three of its members were half castes; two of them were and are recognized as lawyers of ability by all.

* * * * *

The amendments in the Constitution of 1887 disclose:

First—A purpose to take from the King the power to appoint nobles and to vest it in persons having \$3,000 worth of unencumbered property or an annual income above the expense of living of \$600. This gave to the whites three-fourths of the vote for nobles and one-fourth to the natives.

The provisos to the fourth section of Article 59 and Article 62 have this significant application. Between the years 1878 and 1886 the Hawaiian Government imported from Madeira and the Azores Islands 10,216 contract laborers, men, women, and children. Assume, for convenience of argument, that 2,000 of these were males of twenty years and upward. Very few of them could read and write. Only three of them were naturalized up to 1888, and since then only five more have become so. The remainder are subjects of Portugal. These were admitted to vote on taking the following oath and receiving the accompanying certificate:

No.
Hawaiian Islands,
Island of District of Es. :
I, aged....., a native of residing

at in said district do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will support the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, promulgated and proclaimed on the 7th day of July, 1887, and the laws of said kingdom. Not hereby renouncing, but expressly reserving, all allegiance and citizenship now owing or held by me.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this day of,
A. D. 18.... Inspector of Election.

No.....
Hawaiian Islands,
Island of District of, ss.:
I, the undersigned, Inspector of Elections, duly appointed and commissioned, do hereby certify that aged, a native of residing at, in said district, has this day taken before me the oath to support the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, promulgated and proclaimed on the 7th day of July, and the laws of said kingdom.
....., 18.... Inspector of Election.

These ignorant laborers were taken before the election from the cane fields in large numbers by the overseers before the proper officer to administer the oath, and then carried to the polls and voted according to the will of the plantation manager. Why was this done? In the language of Chief Justice Judd, "to balance the native vote with the Portuguese vote." This same purpose is admitted by all persons here. Again, large numbers of Americans, Germans, English, and other foreigners unnaturalized were permitted to vote under the foregoing form.

Two-thirds of this number were never naturalized, but voted under the above form of oath and certificate. They were citizens of the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, invited to vote under this Constitution to neutralize further the native

voting strength. This same action was taken in connection with other European populations.

For the first time in the history of the country the number of nobles is made equal to the number of representatives. This furnished a veto power over the representatives of the popular vote to the nobles, who were selected by persons mostly holding allegiance, and not subjects of the kingdom. The election of a single representative by the foreign element gave to it the Legislature.

The power of appointing a cabinet was left with the King. His power to remove one was taken away. The removal could only be accomplished by a vote of want of confidence by a majority of all the elective members of the Legislature. The tenure of office of a cabinet minister henceforth depends on the pleasure of the Legislature, or, to speak practically, on the favor of certain foreigners, Americans and Europeans.

Then it is declared that no act of the King shall have any effect, unless it be countersigned by a member of the cabinet, who by that signature makes himself responsible. Power is taken from the King in the selection of nobles, not to be given to the masses, but to the wealthy classes, a large majority of whom are not subjects of the kingdom. Power to remove a cabinet is taken away from him, not to be conferred on a popular body, but on one designed to be ruled by foreign subjects. Power to do any act was taken from the King, unless by a member of the cabinet. This instrument was never submitted to the people for approval or rejection, nor was it ever

contemplated by its friends and promoters, and of this no man will make issue.

Prior to this revolution, large quantities of arms had been brought by a secret league from San Francisco, and placed among its members. The first election under this Constitution took place with the foreign population well armed and the troops hostile to the crown and people. The result was the election of what was termed a reform Legislature. The mind of an observer of these events notes henceforth a division of the people by the terms native and foreigner. It does not import race hostility simply. It is founded rather upon the attempted control of the country by a population of foreign origin and zealously holding allegiance to foreign powers. It had an alliance with natives of foreign parentage, some of whom were the descendants of missionary ancestors. Hence the terms "foreigner" and "missionary" in Hawaiian politics have their peculiar significance.

Foreign ships of great powers lying in the harbor of Honolulu to protect the persons and property of their citizens, and these same citizens left by their Government without reproof for participation in such events as I have related, must have restrained the native mind, from a resort to physical force. Its means of resistance was naturally what was left of political power.

In 1890 a Legislature was elected in favor of a new Constitution. The calculation of the reformers to elect all the nobles failed, owing to a defection of whites, especially among the

intelligent laboring classes in the City of Honolulu, who were qualified to vote for nobles under the income clause. The cabinet installed by the revolution was voted out. A new Cabinet in harmony with the popular will, was appointed and remained in power until the death of the King in 1891.

In 1892 another Legislature was elected. Thrums Handbook of Information for 1893, whose author, a reformer and annexationist, is intelligent, and in the employ of the Provisional Government, and whose work is highly valued by all persons, says, concerning the election :

The result brought to the Legislature three rather evenly balanced parties. This, with an admixture of self-interest in certain quarters, has been the means of much delay in the progress of the session, during which there have been no less than three new cabinets on "want-of-confidence" resolutions.

Judge Widemann of the National Reform Party divides the Legislature up thus: "Three parties and some independents—the National Reform, Reform, and Liberal." There were nine members of the National Reform Party, fourteen members of the Reform, twenty-one Liberals, and four independents.

The Liberals favored the old mode of selecting nobles, the National Reform Party was in favor of a new Constitution reducing the qualification of voter for nobles, and the Reform Party was in opposition to both these ideas.

There were a number of members of all these factions aspiring to be cabinet officers. This made certain individuals ignore party lines and form combinations to advance personal

interests. The Reform Party seized upon the situation and made such combinations as voted out cabinet after cabinet until finally what was termed the Wilcox Cabinet was appointed. This was made up entirely of reformers. Those members of the National Reform and Liberal Parties who had been acting with the Reform Party to this point, and expecting representation in the cabinet, being disappointed, set to work to vote out this cabinet, which was finally accomplished.

There was never a time when the Reform Party had any approach to a majority of members of the Legislature.

Let it be borne in mind that the time now was near at hand when the Legislature would probably be prorogued. Whatever cabinet was in power at the time of the prorogation had control of public affairs until a new Legislature should assemble two years afterward and longer, unless expelled by a vote of want of confidence.

An anti-reform cabinet was appointed by the Queen. Some faint struggle was made toward organizing to vote out this cabinet, but it was abandoned. The Legislature was prorogued. The reform members absented themselves from the session of that day in manifestation of their disappointment in the loss of power through the cabinet for the ensuing two years.

The letters of the American Minister and naval officers stationed at Honolulu in 1892 indicate that any failure to appoint a Ministry of the Reform Party would produce a political crisis. The voting out of the Wilcox Cabinet produced a discontent among the reformers verging very closely toward one, and

had more to do with the revolution than the Queen's proclamation. The first was the foundation, the latter the opportunity.

In the Legislatures of 1890 and 1892 many petitions were filed asking for a new Constitution. Many were presented to the King and Queen. The discontent with the Constitution of 1887 and eagerness to escape from it controlled the elections against the party which had established it. Divisions on the mode of changing the Constitution, whether by legislative action or by Constitutional Convention, and the necessity for a two-thirds vote of the Legislature to effect amendments, prevented relief by either method. Such was the situation at the prorogation of the Legislature of 1892.

This was followed by the usual ceremonies at the palace on the day of prorogation—the presence of the Cabinet, Supreme Court Judges, Diplomatic Corps, and troops.

The Queen informed her cabinet of her purpose to proclaim a new Constitution, and requested them to sign it.

From the best information I can obtain the changes to the Constitution of 1887 were as follows:

Art. 20. By adding to exceptions: Members of the Privy Council, Notary Public, agents to take acknowledgments.

Art. 22. By adding Princes Kawanakanakoa and Kalanianaole as heirs to the throne.

Art. 46. Changing the session of the Legislature to the month of April.

Art. 49. That the Queen shall sign and approve all bills

and resolutions, even to those that are voted when passed over her veto.

Art. 56. Pay of Representatives raised to \$500 instead of \$250 for biennial term.

Art. 57. The Queen shall appoint the nobles, not to exceed twenty-four.

Art. 60. The Representatives may be increased from twenty-four, as at present, to forty-eight.

Art. 72. Only subjects shall vote.

Art. 5. The term of appointment of the Supreme Court Judges, not for life, as before, but for six years.

Art. 75. The appointment of Governors of each island for four-years term.

Her Ministers declined to sign, and two of them communicated to leading reformers (Mr. L. A. Thurston, Mr. W. O. Smith, and others) the Queen's purpose and the position of the cabinet. Finding herself thwarted by the position of the cabinet, she declared to the crowd around the palace that she could not give them a new Constitution at that time on account of the action of her Ministers, and that she would do so at some future time. This was construed by some to mean that she would do so at an early day when some undefined, favorable opportunity should occur, and by others when a new Legislature should assemble and a new cabinet might favor her policy, or some other than an extreme and revolutionary course could be resorted to.

It seems that the members of the Queen's Cabinet, after

much urging, prevailed upon her to abandon the idea of proclaiming a new Constitution. The co-operation of the cabinet appears to have been, in the mind of the Queen, necessary to give effect to her proclamation. This method had been adopted by Kamehameha V, in proclaiming the Constitution of 1864. The Constitution of 1887 preserved this same form, in having the King proclaim that Constitution on the recommendation of the cabinet, which he had been prevailed upon by a committee from the mass meeting to appoint.

The leaders of the movement urged the members of the Queen's Cabinet not to resign, feeling assured that until they had done so the Queen would not feel that the power rested in her alone to proclaim a new Constitution. In order to give further evidence of her purpose to abandon the design of proclaiming it, a proclamation was published on the morning of the 16th of January, signed by herself and her Ministers, pledging her not to do so and was communicated to Minister Stevens that morning.

The following papers were among the files of the legation when turned over to me:

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

HONOLULU, H. I., Jan. 16, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency a copy of a "By Authority" notice issued this morning by

her Majesty's Ministers under her Majesty's sanction and approval.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's obedient servant,

SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

To His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS, United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Honolulu.

BY AUTHORITY.

Her Majesty's Ministers desire to express their appreciation for the quiet and order which have prevailed in this community since the events of Saturday, and are authorized to say that the promulgation of a new Constitution was under stress of her native subjects.

Authority is given for the assurance that any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land will be sought only by methods provided in the Constitution itself.

Her Majesty's Ministers request all citizens to accept the assurance of her Majesty in the same spirit in which it is given.

LILIUOKALANI,
SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
W. H. CORMWELL,
Minister of Finance.

JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

On the same day a mass meeting of between fifteen hundred and two thousand people assembled, attended by the leading men in the Liberal and National Reform parties, and adopted resolutions as follows :

Resolved, That the assurance of her Majesty the Queen contained in this day's proclamation is accepted by the people as a satisfactory guarantee that the Government does not and will not seek any modification of the Constitution by any other means than those provided in the organic law.

Resolved, That, accepting this assurance, the citizens here will give their cordial support to the Administration and indorse them in sustaining that policy.

To the communication inclosing the Queen's proclamation just cited, there appears to have been made no response. On the next day, as if to give further assurance, the following paper was sent to Mr. Stevens :

SIR: The assurance conveyed by a royal proclamation by myself and Ministers yesterday having been received by my native subjects, and by them ratified at a mass meeting, was received in a different spirit by the meeting representing the foreign population and interests in my kingdom. It is now

my desire to give your Excellency, as the diplomatic representative of the United States of America at my Court, the solemn assurance that the Constitution will be upheld and maintained by me and my Ministers, and no changes will be made except by the methods therein provided.

I desire to express to your Excellency this assurance in the spirit of that friendship which has ever existed between my kingdom and that of the Government of the United States of America, and which, I trust, will long continue.

LILIUOKALANI R.

By the Queen :

SAMUEL PARKER,

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

WILLIAM H. CORNWELL,

Minister of Finance.

JOHN F. COLBURN,

Minister of the Interior.

A. P. PETERSON,

Attorney-General.

Iolani Palace, Honolulu, Jan. 17, 1893.

His Excellency JOHN L. STEVENS, United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Honolulu.

On the back of the first page of this communication, written in pencil, is the word "Declined." Immediately under the signature of the Attorney-General, also in pencil is written "1:30 to 1:45," and at the end on the second and last page

this sentence, written in ink, appears: "Received at the U. S. Legation about 2 p. m"

The cabinet itself could not be moved for two years, and the views of its members were well known to be against establishing a new Constitution by proclamation of the Queen and cabinet.

Nearly all of the arms on the Island of Oahu, in which Honolulu is situated, were in the possession of the Queen's Government. A military force, organized and drilled, occupied the station house, the barracks, and the palace—the only points of strategic significance in the event of a conflict.

The great body of the people moved in their usual course. Women and children passed to and fro through the streets, seemingly unconscious of any impending danger, and yet there were secret conferences held by a small body of men, some of whom were Germans, some Americans, and some native-born subjects of foreign origin.

On Saturday evening, the 15th of January, they took up the subject of dethroning the Queen and proclaiming a new Government, with a view of annexation to the United States.

The first and most momentous question with them was to devise some plan to have the United States troops landed. Mr. Thurston, who appears to have been the leading spirit, on Monday sought two members of the Queen's Cabinet and urged them to head a movement against the Queen, and to ask Minister Stevens to land the troops, assuring them that in such an event Mr. Stevens would do so. Failing to enlist any of the

Queen's Cabinet in the cause, it was necessary to devise some other mode to accomplish this purpose. A committee of safety, consisting of thirteen members, had been formed from a little body of men assembled in W. O. Smith's office. A deputation of these, informing Mr. Stevens of their plans, arranged with him to land the troops if they would ask it "for the purpose of protecting life and property." It was further agreed between him and them that in the event they should occupy the Government Building and proclaim a new Government he would recognize it. The two leading members of the committee, Messrs. Thurston and Smith, growing uneasy as to the safety of their persons, went to him to know if he would protect them in the event of their arrest by the authorities, to which he gave his assent.

At the mass meeting called by the Committee of Safety on the 16th of January, there was no communication to the crowd of any purpose to dethrone the Queen or to change the form of Government, but only to authorize the committee to take steps to prevent a consummation of the Queen's purposes and to have guarantees of public safety. The Committee on Public Safety had kept their purposes from the public view at this mass meeting and at their small gatherings for fear of proceedings against them by the Government of the Queen.

After the mass meeting had closed, a call on the American Minister for troops was made in the following terms, and signed indiscriminately by Germans, by Americans, and by Hawaiian subjects of foreign extraction:

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,

HONOLULU, Jan. 16, 1893.

To HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN L. STEVENS,
American Minister Resident.

SIR: We, the undersigned, citizens and residents of Honolulu, respectfully represent that, in view of public events in this kingdom, culminating in the revolutionary acts of Queen Liliuokalani on Saturday last, the public safety is menaced and lives and property are in peril, and we appeal to you and the United States forces at your command for assistance.

The Queen, with the aid of armed force and accompanied by threats of violence and bloodshed from those with whom she was acting, attempted to proclaim a new constitution, and, while prevented for the time from accomplishing her object, declared publicly that she would only defer her action.

This conduct and action was upon an occasion and under circumstances which have created general alarm and terror.

We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and therefore pray for the protection of the United States forces.

HENRY E. COOPER,
F. W. McCHESNEY,
W. C. WILDER,
C. BOLTE,
A. BROWN,
WILLIAM O. SMITH,

HENRY WATERHOUSE,
THEO. F. LANSING,
ED. SUHR,
L. A. THURSTON,
JOHN EMMELUTH,
WILLIAM R. CASTLE,
J. A. McCANDLESS,

Citizens' Committee of Safety.

The response to that call does not appear in the files or on the records of the American Legation. It therefore cannot speak for itself. The request of the committee of safety was, however, consented to by the American Minister. The troops were landed.

On that very night the committee assembled at the house of Henry Waterhouse, one of its members, living the next door to Mr. Stevens, and finally determined on the dethronement of the Queen, selected its officers, civil and military, and adjourned to meet the next morning.

Col. J. H. Soper, an American citizen, was selected to command the military forces. At this Waterhouse meeting it was assented to by all that Mr. Stevens had agreed with the committee of safety that in the event it occupied the Government building and proclaimed a Provisional Government he would recognize it as a *de facto* government.

When the troops were landed on Monday evening, January 16, about 5 o'clock, and began their march through the streets

with their small arms, artillery, etc., a great surprise burst upon the community. To but few was it understood. Not much time elapsed before it was given out by members of the committee of safety that they were designed to support them. At the palace, with the cabinet, amongst the leaders of the Queen's military forces, and the great body of the people who were loyal to the Queen, the apprehension came that it was a movement hostile to the existing Government. Protests were filed by the minister of foreign affairs and by the governor of the island against the landing of the troops.

Messrs. Parker and Peterson testify that on Tuesday at 1 o'clock they called on Mr. Stevens, and by him were informed that in the event the Queen's forces assailed the insurrectionary forces he would intervene.

At 2:30 o'clock of the same day the members of the Provisional Government proceeded to the Government building in squads and read their proclamation. They had separated in their march to the Government building for fear of observation and arrest. There was no sign of an insurrectionary soldier on the street. The committee of safety sent to the Government building a Mr. A. S. Wilcox to see who was there, and on being informed that there were no Government forces on the grounds, proceeded in the manner I have related and read their proclamations. Just before concluding the reading of their instrument fifteen volunteer troops appeared. Within a half hour afterward some thirty or forty made their appearance.

A part of the Queen's forces, numbering 224, were located at

the station house, about one-third of a mile from the Government building. The Queen, with a body of 50 troops, was located at the palace, north of the Government building about 400 yards. A little northeast of the palace and some 200 yards from it, at the barracks, was another body of 272 troops.

These forces had 14 pieces of artillery, 386 rifles, and 16 revolvers. West of the Government building and across a narrow street were posted Capt. Wiltse and his troops, these likewise having artillery and small-arms.

The Government building is in a quadrangular-shaped piece of ground surrounded by streets. The American troops were so posted as to be in front of any movement of troops which should approach the Government building on three sides, the fourth being occupied by themselves. Any attack on the Government from the east side would expose the American troops to the direct fire of the attacking force. Any movement of troops from the palace toward the Government building in the event of a conflict between the military forces would have exposed them to the fire of the Queen's troops. In fact, it would have been impossible for a struggle between the Queen's forces and the forces of the committee of safety to have taken place without exposing them to the shots of the Queen's forces. To use the language of Admiral Skerrett, the American troops were well located if designed to promote the movement for the Provisional Government and very improperly located if only intended to protect American citizens in person and property.

They were doubtless so located to suggest to the Queen and her counsellors that they were in co-operation with the insurrectionary movement, and would when the emergency arose manifest it by active support.

It did doubtless suggest to the men who read the proclamation that they were having the support of the American minister and naval commander and were safe from personal harm.

Why had the American minister located the troops in such a situation and then assured the members of the committee of safety that on their occupation of the Government building he would recognize it as a government *de facto*, and as such give it support? Why was the Government building designated to them as the place which, when there proclamation was announced therefrom, would be followed by his recognition. It was not a point of any strategic consequence. It did not involve the employment of a single soldier.

A building was chosen where there were no troops stationed, where there was no struggle to be made to obtain access, with an American force immediately contiguous, with the mass of the population impressed with its unfriendly attitude. Aye, more than this—before any demand for surrender had even been made on the Queen or on the commander or any officer of any of her military forces at any of the points where her troops were located, the American minister had recognized the Provisional Government and was ready to give it the support of the United States troops!

Mr. Damon, the vice-president of the Provisional Government

and a member of the advisory council, first went to the station house, which was in command of Marshal Wilson. The cabinet was there located. The vice-president importuned the cabinet and the military commander to yield up the military forces on the ground that the American minister had recognized the Provisional Government and that there ought to be no blood shed.

After considerable conference between Mr. Damon and the ministers he and they went to the Government building.

The cabinet then and there was prevailed upon to go with the vice-president and some other friends to the Queen and urge her to acquiesce in the situation. It was pressed upon her by the ministers and other persons at that conference that it was useless for her to make any contest, because it was one with the United States; that she could file her protest against what had taken place and would be entitled to a hearing in the city of Washington. After consideration of more than an hour she finally concluded, under the advice of her cabinet and friends, to order the delivery up of her military forces to the Provisional Government under protest. That paper is in the following form :

I, Liliuokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a provisional government of and for this kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said provisional government.

Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A. D. 1893.

LILIUOKALANI, R.

SAMUEL PARKER,

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

WM. H. CORNWELL,

Minister of Finance.

JOHN. F. COLBURN,

Minister of Interior.

A. P. PETERSON,

Attorney-General.

All this was accomplished without the firing of a gun, without a demand for surrender on the part of the insurrectionary forces until they had been converted into a *de facto* government by the recognition of the American minister

with American troops, then ready to interfere in the event of an attack.

In pursuance of a prearranged plan, the Government thus established hastened off commissioners to Washington to make a treaty for the purpose of annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

During the progress of the movement the committee of safety alarmed at the fact that the insurrectionists had no troops and no organization, despatched to Mr. Stevens three persons, to wit: Messrs. L. A. Thurston, W. C. Wilder and H. F. Glade, "to inform him of the situation and ascertain from him what if any protection or assistance could be afforded by the United States for the protection of life and property, the unanimous sentiment and feeling being that life and property were in danger." Mr. Thurston is a native-born subject; Mr. Wilder is of American origin, but has absolved his allegiance to the United States and is a naturalized subject; Mr. Glade is a German subject.

The declaration as to the purposes of the Queen contained in the formal request for the appointment of a committee of safety in view of the facts which have been recited, to wit, the action of the Queen and her cabinet, the action of the Royalist mass meeting, and the peaceful movement of her followers, indicating assurances of their abandonment, seem strained in so far as any situation then requiring the landing of troops might exact.

The request was made, too, by men avowedly intending to overthrow the existing government and substitute a provisional

government therefor, and who, with such purpose in progress of being effected, could not proceed therewith, but fearing arrest and imprisonment and without any thought of abandoning that purpose, sought the aid of the American troops in this situation to prevent any harm to their persons and property. To consent to an application for such a purpose without any suggestion dissuading the applicants from it on the part of the American minister, with naval forces under his command, could not otherwise be construed than as complicity with their plans.

The committee, to use their own language, say: "We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and, therefore, pray for the protection of the United States forces."

In less than thirty hours the petitioners have overturned the throne, established a new government, and obtained the recognition of foreign powers.

Let us see whether any of these petitioners are American citizens, and if so whether they were entitled to protection, and if entitled to protection at this point whether or not subsequently thereto their conduct was such as could be sanctioned as proper on the part of American citizens in a foreign country.

Mr. Henry E. Cooper is an American citizen; was a member of the committee of safety; was a participant from the beginning in their schemes to overthrow the Queen, establish a Provisional Government, and visited Capt. Wiltse's vessel, with a view of securing the aid of American troops, and made an

encouraging report thereon. He an American citizen, read the proclamation dethroning the Queen and establishing the Provisional Government.

Mr. F. W. McChesney is an American citizen ; was co-operating in the revolutionary movement, and had been a member of the advisory council from its inception.

Mr. W. C. Wilder is a naturalized citizen of the Hawaiian Islands, owing no allegiance to any other country. He was one of the original members of the advisory council, and one of the orators in the mass meeting on the morning of January 16.

Mr. C. Bolte is of German origin, but a regularly naturalized citizen of the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. A. Brown is a Scotchman and has never been naturalized. Mr. W. O. Smith is a native of foreign origin and a subject of the Islands.

Mr. Henry Waterhouse, originally from Tasmania, is a naturalized citizen of the Islands.

Mr. Theo. F. Lansing is a citizen of the United States, owing and claiming allegiance thereto. He has never been naturalized in this country.

Mr. Ed. Suhr is a German subject.

Mr. L. A. Thurston is a native-born subject of the Hawaiian Islands, of foreign origin.

Mr. John Emmeluth is an American citizen.

Mr. W. R. Castle is a Hawaiian of foreign parentage.

Mr. J. A. McCandless is a citizen of the United States—never having been naturalized here.

Six are Hawaiians subjects ; five are American citizens ; one English and one German. A majority are foreign subjects.

It will be observed that they sign as "Citizens' committee of safety."

This is the first time American troops were ever landed on these islands at the instance of a committee of safety without notice to the existing government.

It is to be observed that they claim to be a citizens' committee of safety and that they are not simply applicants for the protection of the property and lives of American citizens.

The chief actors in this movement were Messrs. L. A. Thurston and W. O. Smith.

Alluding to the meeting of the committee of safety held at Mr. W. R. Castle's on Sunday afternoon, January 15, Mr. W. O. Smith says :

"After we adjourned Mr. Thurston and I called upon the American minister again and informed him of what was being done. Among other things we talked over with him what had better be done in case of our being arrested, or extreme or violent measures being taken by the monarchy in regard to us. We did not know what steps would be taken, and there was a feeling of great unrest and sense of danger in the community. Mr. Stevens gave assurance of his earnest purpose to afford all the protection that was in his power to protect life and property. He emphasized the fact that while he would call for the United States troops to protect life and property, he could not recognize any government until actually established."



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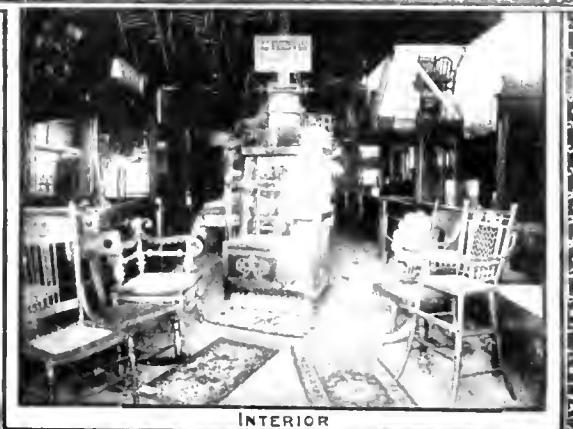
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INTERIOR



INTERIOR

Mr. Damon, the vice-president of the Provisional Goverment, returning from the country on the evening of the 16th, and seeing the troops in the streets, inquired of Mr. Henry Waterhouse, "Henry, what does all this mean?" To which he says, if he "remembers rightly," Mr. Waterhouse replied, "It is all up!" On being questioned by me as to his understanding of the expression, "It is all up," he said he understood from it that the American troops had taken possession of the island.

Mr. C. L. Carter, at the government house, assured Mr. Damon that the United States troops would proteet them. Mr. Damon was astonished when they were not immediately marched over from Arion Hall to the government building and became uneasy. He only saw protection in the bodily presence of the American troops in this building. The committee of safety, with its frequent interviews with Mr. Stevens, saw it in the significance of the position occupied by the United States troops and in the assurance of Mr. Stevens that he would interfere for the purpose of protecting life and property, and that when they should have occupied the government building and read their proclamation dethroning the Queen and establishing the Provisional Government he would recognize it.

The committee of safety, recognizing the fact that the landing of the troops under existing circumstances could, according to all law and precedent, be done only on the request of the existing Government, having failed in utilizing the Queen's Cabinet, resorted to the new device of a committee of safety made up of Germans, British, Americans, and natives of foreign

origin, led and directed by two native subjects of the Hawaiian Islands.

With these leaders, subjects of the Hawaiian Islands, the American minister consulted freely as to the revolutionary movement and gave them assurance of protection from danger at the hands of the royal Government and forces.

On January 17, the following communication, prepared at the station house, which is one-third of a mile from the Government building and two-thirds of a mile from the residence of the American minister, was sent to him :

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
HONOLULU, January 17, 1893.

To HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN L. STEVENS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, etc.:

SIR: Her Hawaiian Majesty's Government, having been informed that certain persons to them unknown, have issued proclamation declaring a Provisional Government to exist in opposition to Her Majesty's Government, and having pretended to depose the Queen, her cabinet and marshal, and that treasonable persons at present occupy the Government building in Honolulu with an armed force, and pretending that your excellency, on behalf of the United States of America, has recognized such Provisional Government, Her Majesty's Cabinet asks respectfully, has your excellency recognized said Provisional Government, and, if not, Her Majesty's Government

under the above existing circumstances respectfully requests the assistance of your Government in preserving the peace of the country.

We have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servants,

SAMUEL PARKER,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
WM. H. CORMWELL,
Minister of Finance.
JOHN F. COLBURN,
Minister of the Interior.
A. P. PETERSON,
Attorney-General.

In it will be observed the declaration that the Provisional Government is claiming to have had his recognition. The reply of Mr. Stevens is not to be found in the records or files of the legation, but on those records appears the following entry:

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
HONOLULU, January 17, 1893.

About 4 to 5 p. m. of this date—am not certain of the precise time—the note on file from the four ministers of the deposed Queen, inquiring if I had recognized the Provisional Government, came to my hands while I was lying sick on the couch. Not far from 5 p. m.—I did not think to look at my watch—I addressed a short note to Hon. Samuel Parker, Hon. Wm. H.

Cornwell, Hon. John F. Colburn, and Hon. A. P. Peterson, no longer regarding them as ministers, informing them that I had recognized the Provisional Government.

JOHN L. STEVENS,
United States Minister.

This communication was received at the station house and read by all of the ministers and by a number of other persons.

After this Mr. Samuel M. Damon, the vice-president of the Provisional Government, and Mr. Bolte, a member of the advisory council, came to the station house and gave information of the proclamation and asked for the delivery up of the station house, the former urging that the government had been recognized by the American minister, and that any struggle would cause useless bloodshed.

The marshal declared that he was able to cope with the forces of the Provisional Government and those of the United States successfully if the latter interfered, and that he would not surrender except by the written order of the Queen.

After considerable conference, the cabinet went with Messrs. Damon and Bolte to the Government building and met the Provisional Government, and there indicated a disposition to yield, but said that they must first consult with the Queen.

The members of the Queen's cabinet, accompanied by Mr. Damon, preceded by the police, and met the Queen. There were also present Messrs. H. A. Widemann, Paul Neumann, E. C. Macfarlane, J. O. Carter, and others.

As to what occurred there I invite your attention to the following statement, made by the vice-president of the Provisional Government, and certified by him to be correct :

Q. In that conversation you asked for a surrender of the forces and the ministers advised it ?

A. The different ones spoke and they all recommended it. Each one spoke. At first Judge Wideman was opposed to it, but he finally changed his mind on the advice of Mr. Neumann. Mr. Neumann advised yielding. Each one advised it.

Q. Was the advice of Neumann and the cabinet based on the idea that the Queen would have to contend with the United States forces as well as the forces of the Provisional Government ?

A. It was the Queen's idea that she could surrender pending a settlement at Washington, and it was on that condition that she gave up. If I remember right I spoke to her also. I said she could surrender or abdicate under protest.

Q. And that the protest would be considered at a later period at Washington ?

A. At a later period.

* * * . * * * *

I knew it was the Queen's idea that Mr. Stevens was in sympathy with this movement.

Q. But I am asking now as to what reasons the ministers gave for her acquiescence ?

A. It was their idea that it was useless to carry on : that it would be provocative of bloodshed and trouble if she persisted

in the matter longer ; that it was wiser for her to abdicate under protest and have a hearing at a later time ; that the forces against her were too strong.

Q. Did they indicate the United States forces in any way ?

A. I do not remember their doing so.

Q. Do you know whether or not at that time they were under the impression that the United States forces were in sympathy with the revolution ?

A. Beyond an impression I know nothing definite.

Q. What was the result of this conference with the Queen ? What was agreed on ?

A. She signed a document surrendering her rights to the Provisional Government under protest.

* * * * *

She was reluctant to agree to this, but was advised that the whole subject would come up for final consideration at Washington.

* * * * *

I did tell her that she would have a perfect right to be heard at a later period.

Q. By the United States Government ?

A. Yes.

All the persons present except Mr. Damon formally state and certify that in this discussion it was conceded by all that Mr. Stevens had recognized the Provisional Government. This Mr. Damon says he does not clearly recollect, but that he is under the impression that at that time the Provisional Govern-

ment had been recognized. Save Mr. Damon, these witnesses testify to the impression made on their minds and on that of the Queen that the American minister and the American naval commander were co-operating in the insurrectionary movement.

As a result of the conference, there was then and there prepared the protest which has been cited.

The time occupied in this conference is indicated in the following language by Mr. Damon :

We went over (to the Palace) between 4 and 5 and remained until 6 discussing the situation.

Mr. Damon and the cabinet returned to the Provisional Government, presented the protest, and President Dole indorsed on the same :

Received by the hands of the late cabinet this 18th day of January, A. D. 1893.

S. B. DOLE,
*Chairman of the Executive Council of
Provisional Government.*

After this protest the Queen ordered the delivery of the station house, where was an important portion of the military forces, and the barracks, where was another force.

The statements of many witnesses at the station house and at the conference with the Queen, that the reply of Mr. Stevens to the cabinet on the subject of recognition had taken place, are not contradicted by Mr. Damon ; but when inquired touching these matters, he uses such expressions as "I can not remember. It might have been so."

Mr. Damon says that he is under the impression that he knew when he went to this conference with the Queen that the recognition had taken place.

Mr. Bolte, another member of the Provisional Government, in a formal statement made and certified to by him, shows very much confusion of memory, but says : " I can not say what time in the day Mr. Stevens sent his recognition." He thinks it was after sunset.

Mr. Henry Waterhouse, another member of the Provisional Government, says : " We had taken possession of the barracks and station house before the recognition took place."

It will be observed that I have taken the communication of the Queen's ministers and the memorandum of Mr. Stevens as to his reply and the time thereof, to wit : " Not far from 5 p. m. I did not think to look at my watch."

This information was then transmitted to the station house, a distance of two-thirds of a mile, and before the arrival of Messrs. Damon and Bolte. This fact is supported by nine persons present at the interview with Mr. Damon and Mr. Bolte. Then another period of time intervenes between the departure of Mr. Damon and Mr. Bolte. Then another period of time intervenes between the departure of Mr. Damon and the cabinet, passing over a distance of one-third of a mile to the Government Building. Then some further time is consumed in a conference with the Provisional Government before the departure of Mr. Damon and the cabinet to the palace, were was the Queen. The testimony of all persons present proves that the

recognition by Mr. Stevens had then taken place. Subsequent to the signing of the protest occurred the turning over of the military to the Provisional Government.

Inquiry as to the credibility of all these witnesses satisfies me as to their character for veracity, save one person, Mr. Colburn. He is a merchant, and it is said he makes misstatements in business transactions. No man can reasonably doubt the truth of the statements of the witnesses that Mr. Stevens had recognized the Provisional Government before Messrs. Damon and Bolte went to the station house.

Recurring to Mr. Stevens' statement as to the time of his reply to the letter of the cabinet, it does not appear how long before this reply he had recognized the Provisional Government. Some witnesses fix it at three and some at half-past three. According to Mr. Damon he went over with the cabinet to meet the Queen between four and five, and taking into account the periods of time as indicated by the several events antecedent to this visit to the palace, it is quite probable that the recognition took place in the neighborhood of three o'clock. This would be within one-half hour from the time that Mr. Cooper commenced to read the proclamation establishing that Government, and allowing twenty minutes for its reading, in ten minutes thereafter the recognition must have taken place.

Assuming that the recognition took place at half-past three there was not at the Government building with the Provisional Government exceeding 60 raw soldiers.

In conversation with me Mr. Stevens said that he knew the

barracks and station-house had not been delivered up when he recognized the Provisional Government; that he did not care anything about that, for 25 men, well armed, could have run the whole crowd.

There appears on the files of the legation this communication:

GOVERNMENT BUILDING,

HONOLULU, January 17, 1893.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN L. STEVENS,

United States Minister Resident.

SIR:—I acknowledge receipt of your valued communication of this day, recognizing the Hawaiian Provisional Government, and express deep appreciation of the same.

We have conferred with the ministers of the late government and have made demand upon the marshal to surrender the station-house. We are not actually yet in possession of the station-house; but as night is approaching and our forces may be insufficient to maintain order, we request the immediate support of the United States forces, and would request that the commander of the U. S. forces take command of our military forces, so that they may act together for the protection of the city.

Respectfully yours,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
Chairman Executive Council.

After the recognition by Mr. Stevens, Mr. Dole thus informs him of his having seen the Queen's Cabinet and demanded the

surrender of the forces at the station-house. This paper contains the evidence that before Mr. Dole had ever had any conference with the Queen's ministers, or made any demand for the surrender of her military forces, the Provisional Government had been recognized by Mr. Stevens.

On this paper is written the following :

"The above request not complied with.—STEVENS."

This is the only reference to it to be found on the records or among the files of the legation.

This memorandum is not dated.

With the Provisional Government and its forces in a two-acre lot, and the Queen's forces undisturbed by their presence, this formal, dignified declaration on the part of the President of the Provisional Government to the American minister, after first thanking him for his recognition, informing him of his meeting with the Queen's cabinet and admitting that the station-house had not been surrendered, and stating that his forces may not be sufficient to maintain order, and asking that the American commander unite the forces of the United States with those of the Provisional Government to protect the city, is in ludicrous contrast with the declaration of the American minister in his previous letter of recognition that the Provisional Government was in full possession of the Government buildings, the archives, the treasury, and in control of the Hawaiian capital.

In Mr. Steven's dispatch to Mr. Foster, No. 79, January 18, 1893, is this paragraph :

"As soon as practicable a Provisional Government was constituted, composed of four highly respectable men, with Judge Dole at the head, he having resigned his place on the supreme bench to assume this responsibility. He was born in Honolulu of American parentage, educated here and in the United States, and is of the highest reputation among all citizens, both natives and whites. P. C. Jones is a native of Boston, Mass., wealthy, possessing property interests in the island, and a resident here for many years. The other two member are of the highest respectability. The committee of public safety forthwith took possession of the Government buildings, archives and treasury, and installed the Provisional Government at the heads of the respective departments. *This being an accomplished fact, I promptly recognized the Provisional Government as the DE FACTO government of the Hawaiian Islands.* The English minister, the Portuguese charge d'affaires, the French and the Japanese commissioners promptly did the same; these, with myself, being the only members of the diplomatic corps residing here."

Read in the light of what has immediately preceded, it is clear that he recognized the Provisional Government very soon after the proclamation of it was made. This proclamation announced the organization of the Government, its forms and officials. The quick recognition was the performance of his pledge to the committee of safety. The recognition by foreign

powers, as herein stated, is incorrect. They are dated on the 18th, the day following that of Mr. Stevens.

On the day of the revolution neither the Portuguese chargé d'affaires nor the French commissioner had any communication, written or oral, with the Provisional Government until after dark, when they went to the Government building to understand the situation of affairs. They did not then announce their recognition.

The British minister, several hours after Mr. Stevens' recognition, believing that the Provisional Government was sustained by the American minister and naval forces, and that the Queen's troops could not and ought not to enter into a struggle with the United States forces, and having so previously informed the Queen's cabinet, did go to the Provisional Government and indicate his purpose to recognize it.

I can not assure myself about the action of the Japanese commissioner. Mr. Stevens was at his home sick, and some one evidently misinformed him as to the three first.

In a letter of the Hawaiian commissioners to Mr. Foster, dated February 11, is this paragraph:

"Sixth. At the time the Provisional Government took possession of the Government buildings no American troops or officers were present or took part in such proceedings in any manner whatever. No public recognition was accorded the Provisional Government by the American minister until they were in possession of the Government buildings, the archives, and the treasury, supported by several hundred armed men and

after the abdication by the Queen and the surrender to the Provisional Government of her forces."

Mark the words, "and after the abdication by the Queen and the surrender to the Provisional Government of her forces." It is signed L. A. Thurston, W. C. Wilder, William R. Castle, J. Marsden, and Charles L. Carter.

Did the spirit of annexation mislead these gentlemen. If not, what malign influence tempted President Dole to a contrary statement in his cited letter to the American minister?

The Government building is a tasteful structure, with ample space for the wants of a city government of 20,000 people. It is near the center of a 2-acre lot. In it the legislature and supreme court hold their sessions and the cabinet ministers have their offices.

In one corner of this lot in the rear is an ordinary two-story structure containing eight rooms. This building was used by the tax assessor, the superintendent of waterworks, and the Government survey office. In another corner is a small wooden structure containing two rooms used by the board of health.

These constitute what is termed in the correspondence between the Provisional Government and the American minister and the government of the United States "government departmental buildings."

Whatever lack of harmony of statement as to time may appear in the evidence, the statements in documents and the consecutive order of events in which the witnesses agree, all do

force us to but one conclusion—that the American minister recognized the Provisional Government on the simple fact that it had entered a house designated sometimes as the Government building and sometimes as Aliiolani Hale (*sic*), which had never been regarded as tenable in military operations and was not so regarded by the Queen's officers in the disposition of their military forces, these being at the station house, at the palace, and at the barracks.

Mr. Stevens consulted freely with the leaders of the revolutionary movement from the evening of the 14th. These disclosed to him all their plans. They feared arrest and punishment. He promised them protection. They needed the troops on shore to overawe the Queen's supporters and Government. This he agreed to and did furnish. The had few arms and no trained soldiers. They did not mean to fight. It was arranged between them and the American minister that the proclamation dethroning the Queen and organizing a provisional government should be read from the Government building and he would follow it with a speedy recognition. All this was to be done with American troops provided with small-arms and artillery across a narrow street within a stone's throw. This was done.

Then commenced arguments and importunities to the military commander and the Queen that the United States had recognized the Provisional Government and would support it; that for them to persist involved useless bloodshed.

No soldier of the Provisional Government ever left the two acre lot.

The Queen finally surrendered, not to these soldiers and their leaders but to the Provisional Government on the conviction that the American minister and the American troops were promoters and supporters of the revolution, and that she could only appeal to the Government of the United States to render justice to her.

The leaders of the revolutionary movement would not have under-taken it but for Mr. Stevens' promise to protect them against any danger from the Government. But for this their mass meeting would not have been held. But for this no request to land the troops would have been made. Had the troops not been landed no measures for the organization of a new Government would have been taken.

The American minister and the revolutionary leaders had determined on annexation to the United States, and had agreed on the part each was to act to the very end.

Prior to 1887 two-thirds of the foreigners did not become naturalized. The Americans, British and Germans especially would not give up the protection of those strong governments and rely upon that of the Hawaiian Islands. To such persons the constitution of 1887 declared : "We need your vote to overcome that of our own native subjects. Take the oath to support the Hawaiian Government, with a distinct reservation of allegiance to your own." Two-thirds of the Europeans and Americans now voting were thus induced to vote in a strange country with the pledge that such act did not affect their citizenship to their native country. The purport and form of this

affidavit appear in the citations from the constitution of 1887 and the form of oath of a foreign voter.

The list of registered voters of American and European origin, including Portuguese, discloses 3,715; 2,091 of this number are Portuguese. Only eight of these imported Portuguese have ever been naturalized in these islands. To this should be added 106 persons, mostly negroes, from the Cape Verde Islands, who came here voluntarily several years prior to the period of state importation of laborers.

The commander of the military forces of the Provisional Government on the day of the dethroning of the Queen and up to this hour has never given up his American citizenship, but expressly reserved the same in the form of oath already disclosed and by a continuous assertion of the same.

The advisory council of the Provisional Government, as established by the proclamation, consisted of John Emmeluth, an American, not naturalized; Andrew Brown, a Scotchman, not naturalized; C. Bolte, naturalized; James F. Morgan, naturalized; Henry Waterhouse, naturalized; S. M. Damon, native; W. G. Ashley, an American, not naturalized; E. D. Tenney, an American, not naturalized; F. M. McChesney, an American, not naturalized; W. C. Wilder, naturalized; J. A. McCandless, an American, not naturalized; W. R. Castle, a native; Lorrin A. Thurston, a native; F. J. Wilhelm, an American, not naturalized.

One-half of this body, then, was made up of persons owing allegiance to the United States and Great Britain,

The annexation mass meeting of the 16th of January was made up in this same manner.

On the 25th of February, 1843, under pressure of British naval forces, the King ceded the country to Lord George Paulet, "subject to the decision of the British Government *after full information.*" That Government restored their independence. It made a deep impression on the native mind.

This national experience was recalled by Judge Widemann, a German of character and wealth, to the Queen to satisfy her that the establishment of the Provisional Government, through the action of Capt. Wiltse and Mr. Stevens, would be repudiated by the United States Government, and that she could appeal to it. Mr. Damon urged upon her that she would be entitled to such a hearing. He was the representative of the Provisional Government, and accepted her protest and turned it over to President Dole. This was followed by large expenditures from her private purse to present her cause and to invoke her restoration.

That a deep wrong has been done the Queen and the native race by American officials pervades the native mind and that of the Queen, as well as a hope for redress from the United States, there can be no doubt.

In this connection it is important to note the inability of the Hawaiian people to cope with any great powers, and their recognition of it by never offering resistance to their encroachments.

The suddenness of the landing of the United States troops,

the reading of the proclamation of the Provisional Government almost in their presence, and the quick recognition by Mr. Stevens, easily prepared her to the suggestion that the President of the United States had no knowledge of these occurrences and must know of and approve or disapprove of what had occurred at a future time. This, too, must have contributed to her disposition to accept the suggestions of Judge Widemann and Mr. Damon. Indeed, who could have supposed that the circumstances surrounding her could have been foreseen and sanctioned deliberately by the President of the United States.

Her uniform conduct and the prevailing sentiment amongst the natives point to her belief as well as theirs that the spirit of justice on the part of the President would restore her crown.

* * * * *

The United States troops, it appears, were doing military duty for the Provisional Government before the protectorate was assumed, just as afterwards. The condition of the community at the time of the assumption of the protectorate was one of quiet and acquiescence, pending negotiations with the United States, so far as I have been able to learn.

A few days before my arrival here news of the withdrawal by the President from the Senate of the treaty of annexation and his purpose to send a commissioner to inquire into the revolution was received.

An organization known as the Annexation Club commenced to obtain signatures to a petition in favor of annexation. This work has been continued ever since.

The result is reported on July 9th, 1893, thus:

HEADQUARTERS ANNEXATION CLUB,

HONOLULU, H. I., July 9th, 1893.

HON. J. H. BLOUNT,
U. S. E. E. & M. P.

In answer to your communication of May 1 would say that the names on our great register to date are 5,500 and that we are advised of 190 odd on rolls not yet entered on the other islands.

Of those which are entered I would estimate that 1,218 are Americans, being 90 odd per cent of the total number of Americans on the islands and 20 odd per cent of those on the club rolls.

English 251, being 26 per cent of those on the islands and 4 per cent of club rolls.

One thousand and twenty-two Hawaiians, being 11 per cent of those on islands and 18 per cent of club rolls.

Two thousand two hundred and sixty-one Portuguese, being 73 per cent of Portuguese on islands and 41 per cent of club rolls.

Sixty-nine Norwegians, being 50 per cent of those on islands and 1 per cent of club rolls.

Three hundred and fifty-one Germans, being 53 per cent of those on islands and 6 per cent on club rolls.

Others, 328, unclassified.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

J. W. JONES,
Secretary Annexation Club.

The Portuguese have generally signed the annexation rolls. These, as I have already stated, are nearly all Portuguese subjects. A majority of the whites of American and European birth who have signed the same roll are not Hawaiian subjects and are not entitled to vote under any laws of the Kingdom.

The testimony of leading annexationists is that if the question of annexation were submitted to a popular vote, excluding all persons who could not read or write except foreigners (under the Australian ballot system, which is the law of the land) that annexation would be defeated.

From a careful inquiry I am satisfied that it would be defeated by a vote of at least two to one. If the votes of persons claiming allegiance to foreign countries were excluded, it would be defeated by more than five to one.

The undoubted sentiment of the people is for the Queen, against the Provisional Government and against annexation. A majority of the whites, especially Americans, are for annexation.

The native registered vote in 1890 was 9,700; the foreign vote was 3,893. This native vote is generally aligned against the annexation whites. No relief is hoped for from admitting to the right of suffrage the overwhelming Asiatic population. In this situation the annexation whites declare that good government is unattainable.

The controlling element in the white population is connected with the sugar industry. In its interest the Government here has negotiated treaties from time to time for the purpose of se-

curing contract laborers for terms of years for the plantations, and paid out large sums for their transportation and for building plantation wharves, etc.

These contracts provide for compelling the laborer to work faithfully by fines and damage suits brought by the planters against them, with the right on the part of the planter to deduct the damages and cost of the suit out of the laborer's wages. They also provide for compelling the laborer to remain with the planter during the contract term. They are sanctioned by law and enforced by civil remedies and penal laws. The general belief amongst the planters at the so-called revolution was that, notwithstanding the laws against importing labor into the United States in the event of their annexation to that Government, these laws would not be made operative in the Hawaiian Islands on account of their peculiar conditions. Their faith in the building of a cable between Honolulu and San Francisco, and large expenditures at Pearl Harbor in the event of annexation have also as much to do with the desire for it.

In addition to these was the hope of escape from duties on rice and fruits and receiving the sugar bounty, either by general or special law.

The repeal of the duty on sugar in the McKinley act was regarded a severe blow to their interests, and the great idea of statesmanship has been to do something in the shape of treaties with the United States, reducing their duties on agricultural products of the Hawaiian Islands, out of which profits

might be derived. Annexation has for its charm the complete abolition of all duties on their exports to the United States.

The annexationists expect the United States to govern the islands by so abridging the right of suffrage as to place them in control of the whites.

The Americans, of what is sometimes termed the better class, in point of intelligence, refinement, and good morals, are fully up to the best standard in American social life. Their homes are tasteful and distinguished for a generous hospitality. Education and religion receive at their hands zealous support. The remainder of them contain good people of the laboring class and the vicious characters of a seaport city. These general observations can be applied to the English and German population.

The native population, numbering in 1890, 40,622 persons, contained 27,901 able to read and write. No country in Europe, except perhaps Germany and England, can make such a showing. While the native generally reads and writes in native and English, he usually speaks the Kanaka language. Foreigners usually acquire it. The Chinese and Japanese learn to use it and know very little English.

Among the natives there is not a superior class, indicated by great wealth, enterprise, and culture, directing the race, as with the whites. This comes from several causes.

In the distribution of lands most of it was assigned to the King, chiefs, some whites, and to the Government for its sup-

port. Of the masses 11,132 persons received 27,830 acres—about two and a half acres to an individual—called Kuleanas. The majority received nothing. The foreigners soon traded the chiefs out of a large portion of their shares, and later purchased from the Government, government lands and obtained long leases on the crown lands. Avoiding details it must be said that the native never held much of the land. It is well known that it has been about seventy years since he commenced to emerge from idolatry and the simplicity of thought and habits and immoralities belonging to it. National tradition has done little for him, and before the whites led him to education its influence was not operative. Until within the last twenty years white leaders were generally accepted and preferred by the King in his selection of cabinets, nobles, and judges, and native leadership was not wanted.

Their religious affiliations are with the Protestant and Catholic churches. They are over-generous, hospitable, almost free from revenge, very courteous—especially to females. Their talent for oratory and the higher branches of mathematics is unusually marked. In person they have large physique, good features and the complexion of the brown races. They have been greatly advanced by civilization, but have done little towards its advancement. The small amount of thieving and absence of beggary are more marked than amongst the best races of the world. What they are capable of under fair conditions is an unsolved problem.

Idols and idol worship have long since disappeared.

The following observations in relation to population are presented, though some repetition will be observed :

The population of the Hawaiian Islands can best be studied, by one unfamiliar with the native tongue, from its several census reports. A census is taken every six years. The last report is for the year 1890. From this it appears that the whole population numbers 89,990. This number includes natives or, to use another designation, Kanakas, half-castes (persons containing an admixture of other than native blood in any proportion with it), Hawaiian-born foreigners of all races or nationalities other than natives, Americans, British, Germans, French, Portuguese, Norwegians, Chinese, Polynesians, and other nationalities.

(In all the official documents of the Hawaiian Islands, whether in relation to population, ownership of property, taxation, or any other question, the designation "American," "British," "German," or other foreign nationality does not discriminate between the naturalized citizens of the Hawaiian Islands and those owing allegiance to foreign countries.)

Americans number 1,928; natives and half-castes, 40,612; Chinese, 15,301; Japanese, 12,360; Portuguese, 8,602; British, 1,344; Germans, 1,034; French, 70; Norwegians, 227; Polynesians, 588, and other foreigners, 419.

It is well at this point to say that of the 7,495 Hawaiian-born foreigners 4,117 are Portuguese, 1,701 Chinese and Japanese, 1,617 other white foreigners, and 60 of other nationalities.

There are 58,714 males. Of these 18,364 are pure natives

and 3,085 are half-castes, making together 21,449. Fourteen thousand five hundred and twenty-two (14,522) are Chinese. The Japanese number 10,079. The Portuguese contribute 4,770. These four nationalities furnish 50,820 of the male population.

	Males.
The Americans.....	1,298
The British.....	982
The Germans	729
The French.....	46
The Norwegians.....	135

These five nationalities combined furnish 3,170 of the total male population.

The first four nationalities when compared with the last five in male population are nearly sixteenfold the largest in number.

The Americans are to those of the four aforementioned group of nationalities as 1 to 39—nearly as 1 to 40.

Portuguese have been brought here from time to time from the Madeira and Azores islands by the Hawaiian Government as laborers, on plantations, just as has been done in relation to Chinese, Japanese, Polynesians, etc. They are the most ignorant of all imported laborers, and reported to be very thievish. They are not pure Europeans, but a commingling of many races, especially the negro. Very few of them can read and write. Their children are being taught in the public schools, as all races are. It is wrong to class them as Europeans.

The character of the people of these islands is and must be overwhelmingly Asiatic. Let it not be imagined that the

Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese disappear at the end of their contract term.

* * * * *

In 1890 the census report discloses that the only 4,695 persons owned real estate in these islands. With a population estimated at this time at 95,000, the vast number of landless people here is discouraging to the idea of immigrants from the United States being able to find encouragement in the matter of obtaining homes in these islands.

The landless condition of the native population grows out of the original distribution and not from shiftlessness. To them homesteads should be offered rather than to strangers.

The census reports of the Hawaiian Islands pretend to give the native population from the period when Capt. Cook was here until 1890. These show a rapid diminution in numbers, which, it is claimed, indicate the final extinction of the race. Very many of these reports are entirely conjectural and others are carelessly prepared. That of 1884 is believed by many intelligent persons here to overstate the native strength and, of course, to discredit any comparison with that of 1890.

All deductions from such comparisons are discredited by an omission to consider loss from emigration. Jarves, in his history of the Hawaiian Islands, published in 1847, says:

"Great numbers of healthy Hawaiian youths have left in whale ships and other vessels and never returned."

The number annually afloat is computed at 3,000. At one time 400 were counted at Tahiti, 500 in Oregon, 50 at Paita,

Peru, besides unknown numbers in Europe and the United States."

In 1850 a law was passed to prohibit natives from leaving the islands. The reason for it is stated in the following preamble.

"Whereas, by the census of the islands taken in 1849, the population decreased at the rate of 8 per cent in 1848, and by the census taken in 1850 the population decreased at the rate of 5½ per cent in 1849; whereas the want of labor is severely felt by planters and other agriculturists, whereby the price of provisions and other produce has been unprecedently enhanced, to the great prejudice of the islands; whereas, many natives have emigrated to California and there died in great misery; and, whereas, it is desirable to prevent such loss to the nation and such wretchedness to individuals, etc."

This act remained in force until 1887. How effective it was when it existed there is no means of ascertaining. How much emigration of the native race has taken place since its repeal does not appear to have been inquired into by the Hawaiian Government. Assuming that there has been none and that the census tables are correct, except that of 1884, the best opinion is that the decrease in the native population is slight now and constantly less. Its final extinction, except by amalgamation with Americans, Europeans, and Asiatics, may be dispensed with in all future calculations.

My opinion, derived from official data and the judgment of intelligent persons, is that it is not decreasing now and will soon increase.



MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1894.

The foregoing pages are respectfully submitted as the connected report indicated in your instructions. It is based upon the statements of individuals and the examination of public documents. Most of these are hereto annexed.

The partisan feeling naturally attaching to witnesses made it necessary for me to take time for forming a correct judgment as to their character. All this had to be done without the counsel of any other person.

Mindful of my liability to error in some matters of detail, but believing in the general correctness of the information reported and conclusions reached, I can only await*the judgment of others.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JAMES H. BLOUNT,
Special Commissioner of the United States.

REPORT OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN RELA-
TION TO THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Mr. Morgan submitted the following report from the Committee on Foreign Relations:

The following resolution of the Senate defines the limits of the authority of the committee in the investigation and report it is required to make:

"Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations shall inquire and report whether any, and if so, what irregularities have occurred in the diplomatic or other intercourse between the United States and Hawaii in relation to the recent political revolution in Hawaii, and to this end said committee is authorized to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths to witnesses."

The witnesses were examined under oath when it was possible to secure their appearance before the committee, though in some instances affidavits were taken in Hawaii and other places, and papers of a scientific and historic character will be appended to this report and presented to the Senate for its consideration.

The committee did not call the Secretary of State, or any person connected with the Hawaiian Legation, to give testimony. It was not thought to be proper to question the diplomatic authorities of either government on matters that are, or have been, the subject of negotiation between them, and no power exists to authorize the examination of the minister of a foreign government in any proceeding without his consent.

The resolutions include an inquiry only into the intercourse between the two governments, and regard the conduct of the officers of the United States as a matter for domestic consideration in which Hawaii is not concerned, unless it be that their conduct had some unjust and improper influence upon the action of the people or Government of that country in relation to the revolution.

The future policy of the two governments as to annexation,

or in respect of any other matter, is excluded by the resolutions from the consideration of the committee, and such matters are alluded to only as being incidental to the investigation which was ordered by the Senate.

The inquiry as to irregularities that may have occurred in our diplomatic or other intercourse with Hawaii must relate, first, to the conduct of the Government as shown in its official acts and correspondence; and, second, the conduct of its civil and military officers while they were engaged in the discharge of their public duties and functions.

As a Government dealing with Hawaii and with any form of government in that country, whether *de facto* or *de jure*, the United States can have no separation or break in its line of policy corresponding to any change in the incumbency of the office of President. It is in all respects as much the same government in every right and responsibility as if it had been under the same President during the entire period covered by the recent revolution in Hawaii and the succeeding events.

This view of the situation will enable us to examine more dispassionately the conduct of our Government, and to ascertain whether it has been such that it can be safely drawn into precedent in any future questions that may arise in our intercourse with this or other American governments.

The right of the President of the United States to change his opinions and conduct respecting a course of diplomatic correspondence with a foreign government is no more to be questioned than his right to institute such correspondence; and it

cannot be assumed that the opinions of one President, differing from those of his predecessor, have any other effect upon the attitude of the Government than would follow a change of opinion in the mind of the same person if there had been no change in the incumbency of the office. This is a view of the situation in which all foreign nations may have an interest, and the usages of independent powers and the international laws. But the question now under consideration is regarded as being peculiar to what we may term the American system. It may be true that Hawaii can not be considered as a separate and independent power in respect of all its relations with the United States, yet the acts of successive Presidents of the United States which affect it must be regarded as the acts of one President. But there are many good reasons and a long and consistent course of dealing between the United States and Hawaii that materially affect, if they do not entirely change, the actual relations between Hawaii and the United States and make them exceptional. When we claim the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of Hawaii, as we would not interfere with those of a European nation, we must also admit her right to whatever advantages there may be in the closeness and interdependence of our relations, and her right to question us as to any conflicts of policy between Mr. Harrison and Mr. Cleveland that may be justly said to work a disadvantage to the interests of Hawaii, if there are any.

And another principle which does not apply in our dealings with European powers comes into application in this case to

influence the rights of Hawaii in her intercourse with the United States.

Hawaii is an American state, and is embraced in the American commercial and military system. This fact has been frequently and firmly stated by our Government, and is the ground on which is rested that peculiar and far-reaching declaration so often and so earnestly made, that the United States will not admit the right of any foreign government to acquire any interest or control in the Hawaiian Islands that is in any way prejudicial or even threatening toward the interests of the United States or her people. This is at least a moral suzerainty over Hawaii. In this attitude of the two Governments, Hawaii must be entitled to demand of the United States an indulgent consideration, if not an active sympathy, when she is endeavoring to accomplish what every other American state has achieved —the release of her people from the odious anti-republican regime which denies to the people the right to govern themselves, and subordinates them to the supposed divine right of a monarch, whose title to such divinity originated in the most slavish conditions of pagan barbarity.

The point at which it is alleged that there was a questionable interference by our Minister and our navy with the affairs of Hawaii was the landing of troops from the ship *Boston*, in Honolulu, on the 16th day of January, 1893, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. That ship, on which the Minister was a passenger, had been off on a practice cruise at Hilo, a distance of nearly 100 miles, since the 4th day of January. On her return to the

harbor a condition of affairs existed in Honolulu which led naturally to the apprehension that violence or civil commotion would ensue, in which the peace and security of American citizens residing in that city would be put in peril, as had been done on three or more separate occasions previously when changes occurred or were about to occur in the government of Hawaii. Whatever we may conclude were the real causes of the situation then present in Honolulu, the fact is that there was a complete paralysis of executive government in Hawaii. The action of the Queen in an effort to overturn the constitution of 1887, to which she had sworn obedience and support, had been accepted and treated by a large and powerful body of the people as a violation of her constitutional obligations, revolutionary in its character and purposes, and that it amounted to an act of abdication on her part, so far as her powers and the rights of the people under the constitution of 1887 were concerned. This state of opinion and this condition of the executive head of the Hawaiian Government neutralized its power to protect American citizens and other foreigners in their treaty rights, and also their rights under the laws of Hawaii. There was not in Honolulu at that time any efficient executive power through which the rights of American citizens residing there could be protected in accordance with the local laws. It is evident that the Queen's Government at that time had no power to prevent the landing of troops from any quarter, no power to protect itself against invasion, no power to conduct civil government, so far as the executive was concerned, if the effort to

exert such power was antagonized by any opposing body of people in considerable numbers. Indeed, no effort seems to have been made to exert the civil authority except through the presence of a small and inefficient body of policemen. The authority of the Queen was not respected by the people: it was opposed, and no force appeared to be used for the purpose of overcoming the opposition. It yielded to a silent but ominous opposition. Without reference to the question whether, in strict law, the action of the Queen in her effort to overturn the Constitution of 1887, and to substitute one by a proclamation which she had prepared, was a revolution in government, or an effort at revolution, or amounted to an actual abdication, the result was that an interregnum existed.

If we give full effect to the contention that this interregnum occurred because of the apprehensions of the Queen that force would be used by the United States to compel her abdication, those apprehensions could not have occurred before the landing of the troops from the *Boston*, or, if they existed, they were idle, unfounded, and unjust toward the United States. It was her conduct, opposed by her people, or a large portion of them, that paralyzed the executive authority and left the citizens of the United States in Honolulu without the protection of any law, unless it was such as should be extended to them by the American Minister, in conjunction with the arms of the United States then on board the *Boston*.

It will appear hereafter in this report that there is well-settled authority for the position that at the moment when the

Queen made public her decision to absolve herself from her oath to support the constitution of 1887 her abdication was complete, if the people chose so to regard it. That constitution and the Queen's oath to support it was the only foundation for her regal authority, and, when she announced that her oath was annulled in its effect upon her own conscience, she could no longer rightfully hold office under that constitution. In such matters the word of the Queen, once sedately uttered, fixes a condition that is irrevocable, unless by the consent of those whose condition or rights would be injuriously affected by its subsequent withdrawal; as in the case of a voluntary abdication in favor of a named successor; or of a pardon granted to a person accused or convicted of crime; or the signature to a legislative act, or declaration of war. The official act of the chief executive of a nation is uniformly regarded as creating a condition or status which can not be altered or revoked at pleasure. Indeed, in every case, the word of the king that works a change in existing conditions is the final act of the king. In the crime of treason and the misprision of treason, the word that is spoken by the culprit though quickly repented of or recalled, has completed the crime and placed the offender beyond the reach of all mercy except that of the sovereign power. In this instance the sovereign power to pardon or condone the Queen's offense resided in the people, and they have so far decided and have adhered to the decision that her abdication was complete. The recantation was two days later than the completed crime and was temporary and conditional, and,

in the meantime, popular sovereignty had risen to the assertion of its rights, an indignant resentment had aroused the people, and a large body of citizens claiming to represent them had inaugurated a government of the people and for the people. Whether the people opposing the Queen were strengthened in their purpose to accept and act upon this abandonment by the Queen of her obligations to keep her oath to support and obey the constitution by the presence of the troops of the United States, or whether the Queen was dismayed by their presence and was deterred from supporting her criminal act by the employment of her household soldiery, did not alter the fact that she had openly renounced the Constitution of 1887 before the troops were landed or any preparation was made or any order was issued to land them; and the people were preparing to substitute the monarchy, which was still existing in the constitution, by a ruler of their own choice before any troops left the Boston.

Whether the people would permit the restoration of the Queen, or whether they would constitute a new executive head of the Government of Hawaii, was a matter then undetermined, and as to that the Government of the United States had but one concern, and that was that the interregnum should be ended, the executive head of the Government should be supplied, and the laws of Hawaii and the treaty rights of American citizens should have full effect, peacefully, in the protection of their rights and interests. When the Queen found that her Government was opposed by a strong body of the people she

did not attempt to reassemble the Legislature, but left the public safety in charge of a committee of thirteen men organized by those who were endeavoring to preserve the peace and to restore the Government to its full constitutional powers by choosing an executive head. This condition of things continued from Saturday until the succeeding Tuesday, during all of which time the citizens of the United States residing in Honolulu had no protection of law, except such as was guaranteed to them by the presence of the *Boston* in the bay of Honolulu, or the moral influence of the American Legation and Consulate.

When the Kamehameha dynasty ended, the monarchy in Hawaii was doomed to a necessary dissolution. The five kings of that family, assisted by their premiers, who were Kanaka women, and by such missionaries as Judd, Bingham, Chamberlain, Coan, Goodrich and Damon, maintained the progress of civilization and prosperity, but when Kalakaua was elected king, the most surprising and disgraceful corruptions infected the Government. Without detailing in this report the constant decline from bad to worse, which the evidence discloses, without contradiction or explanation, when Liliuokalani was enthroned the monarchy was a mere shell and was in a condition to crumble on the slightest touch of firm opposition. Under her brief rule, it was kept alive by the care and forbearing tolerance of the conservative white people, who owned \$50,000,000 of the property in Hawaii, until they saw that the Queen and her party had determined to grasp absolute power and destroy the constitution and the rights of the white people. When they

were compelled to act in self-defense the monarchy disappeared. It required nothing but the determined action of what was called the missionary party to prostrate the monarchy, and that action had been taken before the troops from the *Boston* landed.

There was then no executive head of the Government of Hawaii ; it had perished.

In landing the troops from the *Boston* there was no demonstration of actual hostilities, and their conduct was as quiet and as respectful as it had been on many previous occasions when they were landed for the purpose of drill and practice. In passing the palace on their way to the point at which they were halted, the Queen appeared upon the balcony and the troops respectfully saluted her by presenting arms and dipping the flag, and made no demonstration of any hostile intent. Her attitude at that time was that of helplessness, because she found no active or courageous support in her isolated position, which was self-imposed and was regretted by few of her former subjects. In this condition of Hawaii the laws for the protection of life and property were, in fact, suspended so far as the executive power was concerned, and the citizens of the United States in Honolulu and all the islands, and their property rights, were virtually outlawed. The citizens of Honolulu were not held amenable to the civil authorities, but were treated by the Queen, as well as by the people, as if the country was in a state of war. A policeman was shot down on the streets by a person who was conducting a wagon loaded with arms to the place of rendezvous where the people had assembled, and no

action was taken for the purpose of arresting or putting on trial the man who did the shooting.

In a country where there is no power of the law to protect the citizens of the United States, there can be no law of nations nor any rule of comity that can rightfully prevent our flag from giving shelter to them under the protection of our arms, and this without reference to any distress it may give to the Queen who generated the confusion, or any advantage it might give to the people who are disputing her right to resume or to hold her regal powers. In every country where there is no effective chief executive authority, whether it is a newly-discovered island where only savage government prevails, or one where the government is paralyzed by internal feuds, it is the right, claimed and exercised by all civilized nations, to enter such a country with sovereign authority to assert and protect the rights of its citizens and their property, and to remain there without the invitation of anybody until civil government shall have been established that is adequate, in a satisfactory sense for their protection.

The committee agree that such was the condition of the Hawaiian Government at the time that the troops were landed in Honolulu from the steam warship *Boston*; that there was then an interregnum in Hawaii as respects the executive office; that there was no executive power to enforce the laws of Hawaii, and that it was the right of the United States to land troops upon those islands at any place where it was necessary in the opinion of our minister to protect our citizens.

In what occurred in landing the troops at Honolulu there may have been an invasion, but it was not an act of war, nor did it create that condition of the public law in Hawaii.

In the period of reconstruction, as it is called, which followed the civil war of 1861-'65 in the United States, a very similar condition existed, or was assumed to exist, which caused Congress to provide for vacating gubernatorial offices in several of the Southern States and filling them by appointments of the President.

In these States strong military bodies were stationed and general officers of the Army took command and enforced the laws found on their statute books and also the laws of the United States. All the civil officers in those sovereign States were required to obey the commands of those Army officers, and they did so, often under protest, but with entire submission to the military power and authority of the President, exerted through the instrumentality of the Army. That was not war. Yet it was the presence of military force, employed actively in the enforcement of the civil laws, and in full supremacy over the civil authority.

The only reason that could justify this invasion of sovereign States by the armies of the United States was the declaration by Congress that the executive governments in those States were not in the lawful possession of the incumbents; that there was an interregnum in those States as to the office of governor.

If the Queen, or the people, or both acting in conjunction, had opposed landing of the troops from the *Boston* with armed

resistance, their invasion would have been an act of war. But when their landing was not opposed by any objection, protest, or resistance the state of war did not supervene, and there was no irregularity or want of authority to place the troops on shore.

In this view of the facts there is no necessity for inquiring whether Minister Stevens or Capt. Wiltse, in arranging for the landing of the troops, had any purpose either to aid the popular movement against the Queen that was then taking a definite and decisive shape, or to promote the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. But justice to these gentlemen requires that we should say that the troops from the *Boston* were not sent into Honolulu for any other purpose than that set forth fully and fairly in the following order from Capt. Wiltse to the officer in command of the detachment :

U. S. S. BOSTON, (SECOND RATE),

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, Jan. 16, 1893.

LIEUT. COMMANDER W. T. SWINBURNE, U. S. Navy,

Executive Officer, U. S. Boston.

SIR: You will take command of the battalion and land in Honolulu for the purpose of protecting our legation, consulate, and the lives and property of American citizens, and to assist in preserving public order.

Great prudence must be exercised by both officers and men, and no action taken that is not fully warranted by the condi-

tion of affairs and by the conduct of those who may be inimical to the treaty rights of American citizens.

You will inform me at the earliest practicable moment of any change in the situation.

Very respectfully,

G. C. WILTSE,

Captain, U. S. Navy, Commanding U. S. Boston.

As between the United States and Hawaii, as separate and independent governments, that order defines the full liability of the Government of the United States in respect of landing the troops at Honolulu. As between the Government of the United States and its officers, the question may arise whether that order was issued in good faith and for the purposes declared upon its face, or whether it was a pretext used for the purpose of assisting in the overthrow of the Queen's Government and the ultimate annexation of Hawaii to the United States.

In reference to this last suggestion, the committee, upon the evidence as it appears in their report (which they believe is a full, fair and impartial statement of the facts attending and precedent to the landing of the troops), agree that the purposes of Capt. Wiltse and of Minister Stevens were only those which were legitimate, viz: the preservation of law and order to the extent of preventing a disturbance of the public peace which might, in the absence of the troops, injuriously affect the rights of the American citizens resident in Honolulu.

The troops from the *Boston* having rightfully entered Hono-

olulu, and having carried with them the protection of the laws of the United States for their citizens who otherwise were left without the protection of law, it was the right of the United States that they should remain there until a competent chief executive of Hawaii should have been installed in authority to take upon himself the civil power and to execute the necessary authority to provide for the protection of all the rights of citizens of the United States then in Honolulu, whether such rights were secured by treaty or were due to them under the laws of Hawaii. It was the further right of the officers representing the United States in Hawaii to remain there with the troops until all the conditions were present to give full assurance of security to the rights of all the citizens of the United States then in Honolulu.

Before the landing of the troops a committee of safety had been organized that sent a request to the commander of the *Boston* that troops should be landed for the purpose of preserving the public peace. To this request no response was made, and later in the day the commander of the *Boston* was informed that the committee of safety had withdrawn its request and then desired that no troops should be landed. But, disregarding all the action of the committee of safety and acting only upon his sense of duty to the people of the United States who were in Honolulu, Capt. Wiltse came to the conclusion that the troops should be landed, and he put them in a state of preparation for that purpose by lowering the boats, filling the cartridge belts of the men, and supplying them with proper

accouterments for a stay on shore. After these preparations had been completed Minister Stevens went on board the ship (on Monday), and had an interview with Capt. Wiltse. The evidence shows that this interview related alone to the question of the preservation of law and order in Hawaii and the protection of Americans in their treaty rights. It seem that neither Minister Stevens nor Capt. Wiltse then fully comprehended the fact that the United States had the right, of its own authority, to send the troops on shore for the purpose of supplying to American citizens resident there the protection of law, which had been withdrawn or annulled, because of the fact that there was then an interregnum in the executive department of the Government of Hawaii. The rights of the United States at that moment were greater than they were supposed to be by Minister Stevens or Capt. Wiltse, and they were not the result of treaty rights or obligations, but of that unfailing right to give protection to citizens of the United States in any country where they may be found, when the local authorities have, through their own mismanagement or contrivance, rendered nugatory the power of the government to perform its proper duties in the protection of their lives, property and peace.

A further statement of ascertained facts may be necessary in order to bring out more clearly the situation in Hawaii on Saturday, the 14th day of January, and to render more conspicuous the justification of the United States in entering with its troops upon the soil of Hawaii for the protection of all the rights of its citizens.

On Saturday afternoon and Sunday earnest and decisive steps were being taken by the people of Honolulu who were most prominent in social influence and in commerce and the professions, to arm the people who resented the disloyalty of the Queen to the constitution and to install a new executive head of the Government. This movement had resulted in the organization of a committee of safety, that proposed a programme for the purpose of inaugurating a Provisional Government. This was an open, public movement, which the Queen took no steps to suppress. No arrests were made, and even the apprehension of arrests seems to have been almost entirely absent from the minds of the people engaged in this movement. An effort was made to divert those people from their purpose, on Monday morning, by the Queen and her ministers, who caused the following notice to be posted on the streets of Honolulu :

“BY AUTHORITY.

“ Her Majesty’s ministers desire to express their appreciation for the quiet and order which have prevailed in this community since the events of Saturday, and are authorized to say that the position taken by her Majesty in regard to the promulgation of a new constitution was under the stress of her native subjects.

“ Authority is given for the assurance that any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land will be sought only by the methods provided in the constitution itself.

“ Her Majesty’s ministers request all citizens to accept the

assurance of Her Majesty in the same spirit in which it is given."

This paper purported to be signed by the Queen and her ministers, Samuel Parker, minister of foreign affairs; W. H. Cornwell, minister of finance; John F. Colburn, minister of the interior; and A. P. Peterson, attorney-general.

The Queen did not sign it in her official character by affixing the letter R to her name, and the tenor of the paper indicates that it was, in fact, the act of her ministers, to which she had not given her royal assent and pledge. This paper in itself contains undeniable evidence that the Queen had instituted a *coup d'état* on Saturday by the promulgation of "a new constitution," as far, at least, as she could bind herself by such an act, and that she offered the excuse for this revolt against the existing constitution which she had sworn to support, that she had acted "under stress of her native subjects."

Passing by the fact that the existence of this "stress" is not established by any satisfactory evidence, the reference to it in this proclamation discloses her willing connection with the purpose to disfranchise her foreign-born subjects, that being the effect of the provisions of the "new constitution" that she in fact promulgated, so far as she could, but hesitated to swear to for the want of sufficient support from "her native subjects." The assurance given that future efforts "to change" the constitution of 1887 should be conducted only in the method therein prescribed, was no assurance that her foreign-born subjects should be protected in their vital liberties. To the reverse, it

was a continuing threat that they should be disfranchised and placed at the mercy of the racial aggression, backed by the power of the crown. The declaration of the Queen made in person to Minister Willis, on three occasions, and at long intervals of time after the lapse of nine months of sedate reflection, show that this assurance, given in fact by her ministers, was only a thin disguise of her real purpose to drive out the white population and confiscate their property, and, if need be, to destroy their lives. The people made no mistake as to her animosity toward them, and proceeded in the same orderly manner, for which the ministers gave them thanks in this proclamation, to designate an executive head of the Government in place of the abdicated Queen, the abdication being completed and confirmed by the only authentic expression of the popular will, and by the recognition of the Supreme Court of Hawaii.

Another fact of importance connected with the situation at that time is that a committee of law and order, consisting of supporters of the Queen, had on Monday morning posted in public places in Honolulu the following call for a public meeting and explanation of the purposes of the Queen in abrogating the constitution of 1887 and in substituting one which she desired and attempted to promulgate by their authority as the organic law of the land. This proclamation was printed in the Hawaiian language, and a translation of it is appended to this report. It was printed in an extra edition of a newspaper called the Ka Leo o Ka Lahui, published in Honolulu in the Hawaiian language. "The stress of her native subjects," which

is mentioned by the Queen in the proclamation which was posted in English on the morning of January 16, is evidently expressed in the terms of this announcement and call, and it shows that it was based upon racial distinction and prejudice entirely, and indicates the feeling of resentment and controversy which, if carried into effect as the Queen proposed to carry it into effect under the constitution which she intended to proclaim, would have resulted in the destruction of the rights of property and lives of those persons who were styled "missionaries" and their posterity, from whom Hawaii had derived her enlightened civilization, Christianity, constitution, laws, progress, wealth and position amongst the nations of the earth. This was a threat of dangerous significance, and it shows the spirit of the controversy that was then pervading the minds of the people of Honolulu, and illustrates how easy it was to foment strife that would result in the worst of evils, in a community thus divided and thus excited. The abuse of the missionaries and missionary party in this call shows that the Queen and her immediate followers had concentrated their efforts upon the disfranchisement of all white people in Hawaii, and the return of the government to that condition of debasement from which these very people and their fathers had relieved it.

The second paragraph in this call is as follows :

"THE VOICE OF THE CHIEF."

"On the afternoon of Saturday last the voice of the Sacred Chief of Hawaii, Liliuokalani, the tabued one, speaking as follows :

"O, ye people who love the Chief, I hereby say to you, I am now ready to proclaim the new constitution for my Kingdom, thinking that it would be successful, but behold obstacles have arisen ! Therefore I say unto you, loving people, go with good hope and do not be disturbed or troubled in your minds. Because, within the next few days now coming, I will proclaim the new constitution.

"'The executive officers of the law (the cabinet) knew the errors in this constitution, but they said nothing.'"

"'Therefore I hope that the thing which you, my people, so much want will be accomplished ; it also is my strong desire.'"

Here is a direct accusation by the Queen against her cabinet, all of whom with one exception, were white men, that they had misled her as to the effect of the constitution, and had failed to point out errors in it which, as a pretext, led to its rejection by them, causing them to refuse at the last moment to join with her in its promulgation. This call was, in fact, a new promise which was made by the Queen, with the evident consent of her immediate native followers, that within the next few days now coming she would proclaim the new constitution, notwithstanding her failure to give it a successful promulgation on the preceding Saturday. The intensity of the Queen's opposition to the missionaries and the white people was caused by her intention that the Kingdom should return to its former absolute character, and that the best results of civilization in Hawaii should be obliterated.

Civilization and constitutional government in Hawaii are the

foster children of the American Christian missionaries. It can not be justly charged to the men and women who inaugurated this era of humanity, light and justice in these islands that either they or their posterity or their followers, whether native or foreign, have faltered in their devotion to their exalted purposes. They have not pursued any devious course in their conduct, nor have they done any wrong or harm to the Hawaiian people or their native rulers. They have not betrayed any trust confided to them, nor have they encouraged any vice or pandered to any degrading sentiment or practice among those people. Among the native Hawaiians, where they found paganism in the most abhorrent forms of idolatory, debauchery, disease, ignorance and cruelty seventy-five years ago, they planted and established, with the free consent and eager encouragement of those natives and without the shedding of blood, the Christian ordinance of marriage, supplanting polygamy; a reverence for the character of women and a respect for their rights; the Christian Sabbath and freedom of religious faith and worship, as foundations of society and of the state; universal education, including the kings and the peasantry; temperance in place of the orgies of drunkenness that were all-pervading; and the separate holding of lands upon which the people built their homes. In doing these benevolent works the American missionary did not attempt to assume the powers and functions of political government. As education, enlightenment, and the evident benefits of civilization revealed to those in authority the necessity of wise and faithful counsels

in building up and regulating the government, to meet those new conditions, the kings invited some of the best qualified and most trusted of these worthy men to aid them in developing and conducting the civil government. As a predicate for this work they freely consented to and even suggested the giving up of some of their absolute powers and to place others under the constraint of constitutional limitations. They created an advisory council and a legislature and converted Hawaii from an absolute despotism into a land of law. The cabinet ministers thus chosen from the missionary element were retained in office during very long periods, thus establishing the confidence of the kings and the people in their integrity, wisdom and loyalty to the Government. No charge of defection, or dishonesty was ever made against any of these public servants during the reign of the Kamehamehas, nor indeed at any time. They acquired property in moderate values by honest means, and labored to exhibit to the people the advantages of industry, frugality, economy and thrift.

The progressive elevation of the country and of the people from the very depravity of paganism into an enlightened and educated commonwealth and the growth of their industries and wealth will be seen at a glance in the statements of the most important events and in the tables showing the most important results of their work and influence, which are set forth in the evidence accompanying this report. This array of undisputed facts shows that, with christianity and education as the basis, there has come over Hawaii the most rapid and successful im-

provement in political, industrial and commercial conditions that has marked the course of any people in Christendom.

In the message of President Tyler to Congress he says :

"The condition of those islands has excited a good deal of interest, which is increasing by every successive proof that their inhabitants are making progress in civilization and becoming more and more competent to maintain regular and orderly government. They lie in the Pacific Ocean, much nearer to this continent than the other, and have become an important place for the refitment and provisioning of American and European vessels.

"Owing to their locality and to the course of the winds which prevail in this quarter of the world the Sandwich Islands are the stopping place for almost all vessels passing from continent to continent across the Pacific Ocean. They are especially resorted to by the great numbers of vessels of the United States which are engaged in the whale fishery in those seas. The number of vessels of all sorts and the amount of property owned by citizens of the United States which are found in those islands in the course of a year are stated probably with sufficient accuracy in the letter of the agents.

"Just emerging from a state of barbarism, the Government of the islands is as yet feeble ; but its dispositions appear to be just and pacific, and it seems anxious to improve the conditions of its people by the introduction of knowledge, of religious and moral institutions, means of education, and the arts of civilized life."

In the House of Representatives this subject was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and Hon. John Q. Adams, in concluding his report upon the subject, says :

"It is a subject of cheering contemplation to the friends of human improvement and virtue that, by the mild and gentle influence of Christian charity, dispensed by humble missionaries of the gospel, unarmed with secular power, within the last quarter of a century the people of this group of islands have been converted from the lowest debasement of idolatry to the blessings of the Christian gospel ; united under one balanced government ; rallied to the fold of civilization by a written language and constitution, providing security for the rights of persons, property, and mind, and invested with all the elements of right and power which can entitle them to be acknowledged by their brethren of the human race as a separate and independent community. To the consummation of their acknowledgment the people of the North American Union are urged by an interest of their own deeper than that of any other portion of the inhabitants of the earth—by a virtual right of conquest, not over the freedom of their brother man by the brutal arm of physical power, but over the mind and heart by the celestial panoply of the gospel of peace and love."

It can not be other than a proud reflection of the American people that the free institutions of the United States gave origin and impulsive zeal, as well as guidance, to the good men who laid these foundations of civil government in Hawaii upon written constitutions supported by the oaths of those in author-

ity and loyally sustained by those of the people who are virtuous and intelligent. Nor can the American people condemn the firm adhesion of those whose rights are guaranteed by constitutional law in Hawaii to the demand that is now made for the maintenance of its permanent integrity. If nothing but a decent respect for our national example was in question, if there was no question in Hawaii that concerned the people of the United States except that of a relapse of that Government into absolute monarchy, if there was no degradation of society involved in this falling away, no destruction of property and liberty in contemplation, there would still be enough in the conditions now presented there to excite the most anxious interest of our people. Citizens of the United States with wisdom, charity, Christian faith and a love of constitutional government, have patiently, laboriously, and honestly built up Hawaii into a civilized power under a written constitution, and they can justly claim the sympathy and assistance of all civilized people in resisting its destruction, either to gratify a wanton lust of absolute power on the part of the Queen, or the abuse of its authority in fostering vice and rewarding crime. The facts of recent history present broadly and distinctly the question between an absolute and corrupt monarchy in Hawaii, and a government in which the rights and liberties guaranteed by a written constitution shall be respected and preserved. The facts do not show that the people who built up this constitutional system and have based upon it wholesome laws and a well balanced and well guarded plan of administration have

had any desire to abrogate the organic laws, corrupt the statute laws, or to dethrone the Queen. In every phase of their dealings with these questions their course has been conservative, and the defense of their lives, liberty and property, and the honest administration of the government has been the real motive of their actions. They are not, therefore, to be justly classed as conspirators against the Government. That they turn their thoughts toward the United States and desire annexation to this country could not be denied without imputing to them the loss of the sentiment of love and reverence for this Republic that is utterly unknown to our people.

On Monday, the 16th of January, 1893, Hawaii was passing through the severe ordeal of a trial which was conducted by the people who arrayed themselves on the side of the Queen and those who were organized in opposition to her revolutionary purposes. The Queen seems to have abandoned the controversy into the hands of the people, and made no effort to suppress the meeting of the citizens opposed to her revolutionary proceedings by calling out her troops to disperse the meeting or to arrest its leaders. Both the meetings were quiet and orderly, but the meeting at the arsenal was intensely earnest, and men were heard to express their opinions freely and without interruption at both meetings, and they came to their resolutions without disturbance. When these meetings dispersed, the Queen's effort to reject the constitution of 1887 had been approved by the one meeting held on the palace grounds and composed almost entirely of native Kanakas ; the other meeting

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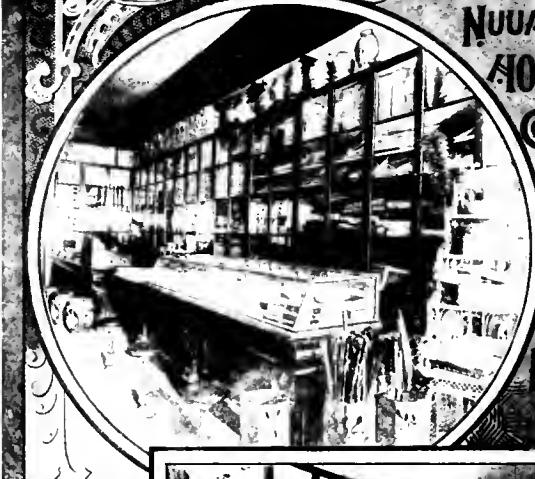
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had resolved to establish a provisional government, and formed a committee to proceed with its organization. The Queen, though thus strongly endorsed by her native-born subjects, as she calls them, did not venture any arrests of the alleged revolutionists, but evidently conscious that the revolution which she had endeavored to set on foot had failed of sufficient support, she did not use her troops or the police or any other power in the direction of asserting her royal authority. The meeting of the people at the arsenal was followed by organization, the arming of the citizens, the strong array of forces, and a determined spirit of success which has materialized into an established government that has continued to exist for more than a year, practically without any opposition in Hawaii, and with the recognition of many great powers, including the United States. These events show, beyond reasonable dispute, the acceptance by the people of Hawaii of the judgment and determination of the meeting at the arsenal that the Queen had abdicated, that her authority had departed, that she and her ministers had submitted to the inevitable, and that they retained no longer any substantial ground of hope or expectation that the Queen would be restored to her former office.

The question whether such a state of affairs as is shown by the undisputed facts in this case constitute an abdication and created an interregnum was passed upon in England with more care, because of the serious results that followed the decision, than seems to have been bestowed upon a like controversy in any other country.

The people of Great Britain have many liberties that are firmly established in the traditions of that country, and on many occasions they have asserted their rights, as the basis of governmental power, with great determination and success. In 1688, when James II was on the throne, his severe conduct, exercised through the judiciary of the Kingdom and in other ways, and a strong adhesion to the Catholic religion, caused the people of Great Britain to accuse him of an intention to violate their unwritten constitution. He was a great and powerful king, and had accomplished very much for the glory and honor of England. But the people of England held him to an observance of the spirit of his oath of loyalty to the constitution of that country, and, when they became satisfied that he had made an effort to subvert it, they in their Parliament passed upon the question of his abdication and held that his intention and effort to violate the constitution robbed him of his title to the crown and opened the door to the establishment of a new dynasty. Blackstone, in speaking of these events, says :

" King James II succeeded to the throne of his ancestors, and might have enjoyed it during the remainder of his life but for his own infatuated conduct which, with other concurring circumstances, brought on the revolution in 1688.

" The true ground and principle upon which that memorable event proceeded was an entirely new case in politics, which had never before happened in our history—the abdication of the reigning monarch and the vacancy of the throne thereupon.

It was not a defeasance of the right of succession and a new limitation of the crown by the King and both Houses of Parliament; it was the act of the nation alone upon the conviction that there was no king in being. For, in a full assembly of the lords and commons, met in a convention upon the supposition of this vacancy, both houses came to this resolution : ‘That King James II, having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the Kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and people; and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental law and having withdrawn himself out of this Kingdom has abdicated the Government, and that the throne is hereby vacant.’”

Proceeding further, this eminent jurist says :

“For whenever a question arises between the society at large and any magistrate vested with powers originally delegated by that society it must be decided by the voice of the society itself: there is not upon earth any other tribunal to resort to. And that these consequences were fairly deduced from these facts our ancestors have solemnly determined in a full parliamentary convention representing the whole society.”

Further quoting from Blackstone, he says :

“They held that this misconduct of King James amounted to an endeavor to subvert the constitution and not to an actual subversion or total dissolution of the Government, according to the principles of Mr. Locke, which would have reduced the society almost to a state of nature; would have leveled all distinctions of honor, rank, offices, and property; would have

annihilated the sovereign power, and in consequence have repealed all positive laws, and would have left the people at liberty to have erected a new system of State upon a new foundation of polity. They therefore very prudently voted it to amount to no more than an abdication of the Government and a consequent vacancy of the throne, whereby the Government was allowed to subsist though the executive magistrate was gone, and the kingly office to remain though King James was no longer King. And thus the constitution was kept entire, which upon every sound principle of government must otherwise have fallen to pieces had so principal and constituent a part as the royal authority been abolished or even suspended.

“This single postulatum, the vacancy of the throne, being once established, the rest that was then done followed almost of course. For, if the throne be at any time vacant (which may happen by other means than that of abdication, as if all the blood-royal should fail, without any successor appointed by Parliament)—if, I say, a vacancy, by any means whatsoever, should happen, the right of disposing of this vacancy seems naturally to result to the Lords and Commons, the trustees and representatives of the nation. For there are no other hands in which it can so properly be intrusted; and there is a necessity of its being intrusted somewhere, else the whole frame of government must dissolve and perish.”

The principle on which this decision in regard to King James II rests is still stronger when it is applied to persons who are citizens of the United States but who reside in Hawaii, and by

the constitution and laws of Hawaii are admitted into an active participation in the conduct of government, both as officeholders and as qualified electors. If they, in connection with the native or naturalized subjects of the Kingdom of Hawaii, unite in demanding the preservation of their constitutional rights, there should be no captious or technical objections taken to the assertion of that right, or to the manner of its exercise.

In reference to all citizens of the United States residing in Hawaii and not actual members or officers of that Government, the spirit of our laws, in accordance with the principles of the Constitution and the traditions of the people, should be applied to their protection, when it is the duty of the United States to protect them, and especially are they entitled to the full advantage of the protection that is afforded under that doctrine of personal liberty and security which upholds the authority of governments *de facto*. When such a government arises out of alleged abuses and grievances and is set up in good faith by the intelligent classes to succeed a monarchy in a state that is the only monarchy in a sisterhood of many republics, the rules governing its recognition are not those that seem to control in cases where the state is a sole republic surrounded by an environment of monarchies.

In Europe, where governmental successions have no relation to the will of the people, every presumption that can be made to support the regal system is adopted and enforced with rigid care. The old conditions are presumed to exist in a regal government until the new government has accomplished a com-

plete revolution and until nothing remains to be done to secure an uninterrupted and unembarrassed installation of its authority. Those presumptions are all in favor of the crown and are easily applied in practical use, as the crown is a political unit and acts with certainty in the assertion of its claims. When the rights asserted against the crown are set up by the people, or for the people, the act is necessarily a representative act, and the authority of the alleged representative is severely questioned. Indeed, it is not considered as existing in European countries until, through bloodshed or an overwhelming exhibition of forces, its acknowledgment is literally compelled. The reverse of this rule should obtain in that part of the world where it is held, universally, that the right to govern depends upon the consent of the governed and not upon the divine inheritance of power. In a controversy like that in Hawaii the presumption is in favor of those who unite to assert the constitutional rights of the people, that they are acting in good faith, and that they are not seeking personal aggrandizement, but the good of the people. When such a popular movement engages the evident support of those whom the people have trusted for integrity to an extent that inspires a just confidence of success a sufficient foundation exists, at least, for a government *de facto*; and it is no more necessary to its validity that every possible obstacle to its final success has been removed than it would be necessary, on the other hand, to the permanency of the crown that every rebellious subject of the Queen had been slain or banished and their estates had been confiscated.

The supporters of Liliuokalani seem to be enforced into the attitude of claiming that it is no consequence that she may have forfeited her right to the crown and had placed in the power of the people lawfully to claim that this was an abdication, unless the people had overcome and removed every vestige of her power before they proclaimed the Provisional Government. Her known purpose to press the absolute powers claimed by her in the new constitution to the extent of the banishment or death of the white population seems not to be permitted to excuse the action of the people in displacing her, if they had not captured her small force of policemen and soldiers before the American minister had recognized the Provisional Government.

Liliuokalani did not seem to take this narrow view of the revolution which she had inaugurated.

The banishment or death of the white people and the confiscation of their estates was the final decree recorded in the Queen's heart and mind, as she freely stated to Minister Willis, and until this cruel work had been accomplished she held that her policy of revolution would be a failure. There is some ground for hope that these were not her sincere purposes or wishes but that in giving expression to them she was "playing a part." As opposed to such purposes, or to a Queen who could imagine them in the presence of the constitutional protection given to the rights and liberties of the people throughout this hemisphere, Americans should not hesitate in the support of a government *de facto*, set up to oppose her, because she had not

made a formal surrender of a place where a few soldiers and policemen had been stationed, who were powerless to hold it against the people then under arms. It was an act of mercy to her and her retainers that they were not forced into the commission of acts of violence. An interregnum existed in the executive Government of Hawaii, which was caused by the effort of the Queen to destroy the constitution of 1887, and by the act of the people in accepting her will for the completed *coup d'etat*, and, in making that the occasion for supplying the executive department of the Government with a chief.

A careful investigation has failed to show that any conspiracy now exists that is directed to the virtual displacement of the Provisional Government. The personal efforts of the Queen seem to have been directed toward a provision for a safe and comfortable life, free from the anxiety of office and "the stress of her native subjects." Her power of attorney to Paul Neumann and his mission to the United States indicate a reliance on the "arts of peace" rather than of war for indemnity for the past and security for the future. The opinions, or sentiments, expressed by her in the three interviews she had with Mr. Willis, in which she uttered the severest denunciations against the white race in Hawaii, and declared her willingness, if not her purpose, to confiscate their estates and to banish or to destroy them, while they are a seeming expression of the lofty indignation of an offended ruler, are so unsuited to the character of a queen crowned by a Christian and civilized people, and so out of keeping with her character as a woman who

had received kindly recognition and personal regard from other good and refined ladies, that they shock all right-minded people in Christendom. The Government of the United States should willingly forbear to regard these utterances as her official expression of such designs upon the lives and liberties of those whom she would find in her power, upon her restoration to the throne, and accept them as a means adopted by her to convince Mr. Willis that her restoration to the throne was impossible, and was not in accordance with her wishes.

The President, on the first intimation of these harsh declarations of the Queen, at once laid them before Congress, and abandoned the further exercise of his good offices to bring about a reconciliation between her and those who were conducting and supporting the Provisional Government.

Mr. Willis, however, regarding his instructions as continuing to require his intercession beyond the point where the President considered that it should cease, held a second and third interview with Liliuokalani. After these interviews had closed, the Queen being still firm in her course, Mr. Carter, a trusted friend, obtained her signature to a pledge of amnesty, and made that the basis of his proposition to Mr. Dole for the abandonment of the Provisional Government, which was summarily refused. This closed that incident. Mr. Willis, in what he did, obeyed what he conceived to be his instructions, and being so distant from Washington, it is a matter of regret, but not of surprise, that there was an apparent want of harmony between his action in continuing his interviews with Liliuokalani after the Presi-

dent had determined that the full duty of the Government had been performed.

The attitude of Liliuokalani at the conclusion of this proceeding is that of waiting for a pleasant retirement from the cares of public life, rather than of waiting for an opportunity to bring about a hostile collision with the people who support the new order of government in Hawaii.

In dealing with a grave subject, now for the first time presented in America, we must consider the conditions of public sentiment as to monarchic government, and we shall derive also material help from the light of English history. In the Western Hemisphere, except as to the colonial relation, which has become one of mere political alliance chiefly for commercial reasons and does not imply in any notable case absolute subjection to imperial or royal authority, royalty no longer exists. When a crown falls, in any kingdom of the Western Hemisphere, it is pulverized, and when a scepter departs, it departs forever; and American opinion can not sustain any American ruler in the attempt to restore them, no matter how virtuous and sincere the reasons may be that seem to justify him. There have been heathen temples in the older States in this hemisphere where the bloody orgies of pagan worship and sacrifice have crimsoned history with shame; and very recently such temples have been erected in the United States to abuse Christianity by the use of its sacred name and ritual. When the arms of invaders, or mobs of the people, have destroyed these temples, no just indignation at the cruelties that may

have been perpetrated in their destruction could possibly justify their restoration.

It is a great blessing to this Western World that the nations are to be spared the calamities which Blackstone describes as "imbruining the kingdom of England in blood and confusion," growing out of claims of succession to the crown. In almost every reign prior to that of the present house of Hanover the lives and property of the people of England, amid the greatest cruelties, have been sacrificed in settling pretensions to the crown. It was these conflicts and this distress of innocent sufferers that caused the people to claim through the judges the protection of the doctrine that service rendered to the king, who held the scepter was lawful, although he was not rightfully in possession of the crown. No greater liberty of the people was ever devised or granted than the right of protection under a king *de facto* against a king *de jure*.

De facto governments, when they seek to supply the gap created by an interregnum, are favored in the international law, and when they are also based on the right of popular government in conflict with regal government, or to prevent its re-establishment, once it has disappeared in a State of the Western Hemisphere, it is so rooted and established in the foundations of the rightful authority to rule that it is justly to be ranked among the cardinal liberties of the people.

This doctrine is not new, and yet it is modern in England, where the right to the crown and its prerogatives have bled the people for fifteen centuries. The stringent doctrine that a

de facto government must be established firmly in all respects before it is entitled to recognition by another sovereign and power had no application to the facts and circumstances that attended the recent revolution in Hawaii; moreover if the revolution there had been directed against the entire government and for the overthrow of the constitution of 1887, and all monarchic rule, if it was a sincere, strong, earnest and successful movement of the people for the recovery of their natural right to rule themselves, they should not be narrowly questioned and held to rigid account for a proper and discreet performance of every act necessary to their resumption of their natural rights, but all America must unite in the declaration that, under such circumstances, the presumption of law should be favorable to such movements, rather than unfriendly to the establishment by the people of the foundations of their liberties, based upon their right to govern themselves.

The parliament of Hawaii had been prorogued by the Queen on the 14th day of January, and could not be again assembled under the constitution, except by the chief executive authority. Until that authority was supplied in some way therefore, the Legislature could not be reconvened. It was the establishment of that authority, the chief executive head of the nation, which was the question at issue, and when that was decided, an appeal to the Legislature of Hawaii for its confirmation or ratification was not only unnecessary, but might have resulted in a counter-revolution. It was, therefore, in the interest of peace, good order, and right government, that the people of Hawaii, who

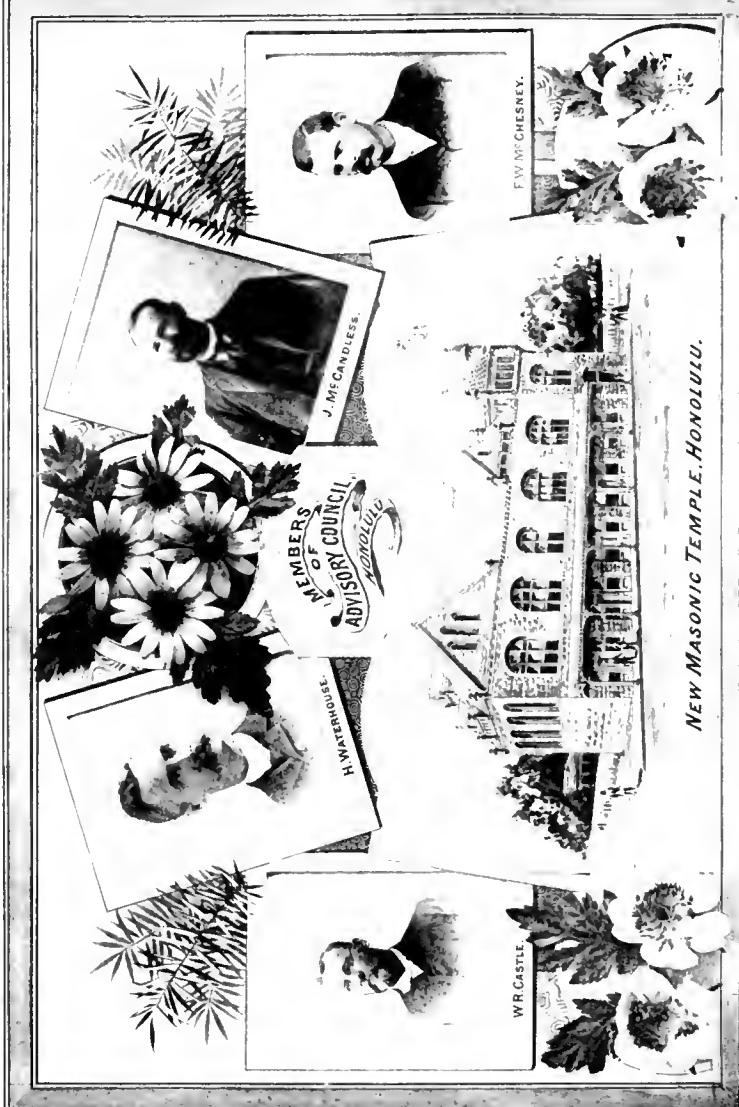
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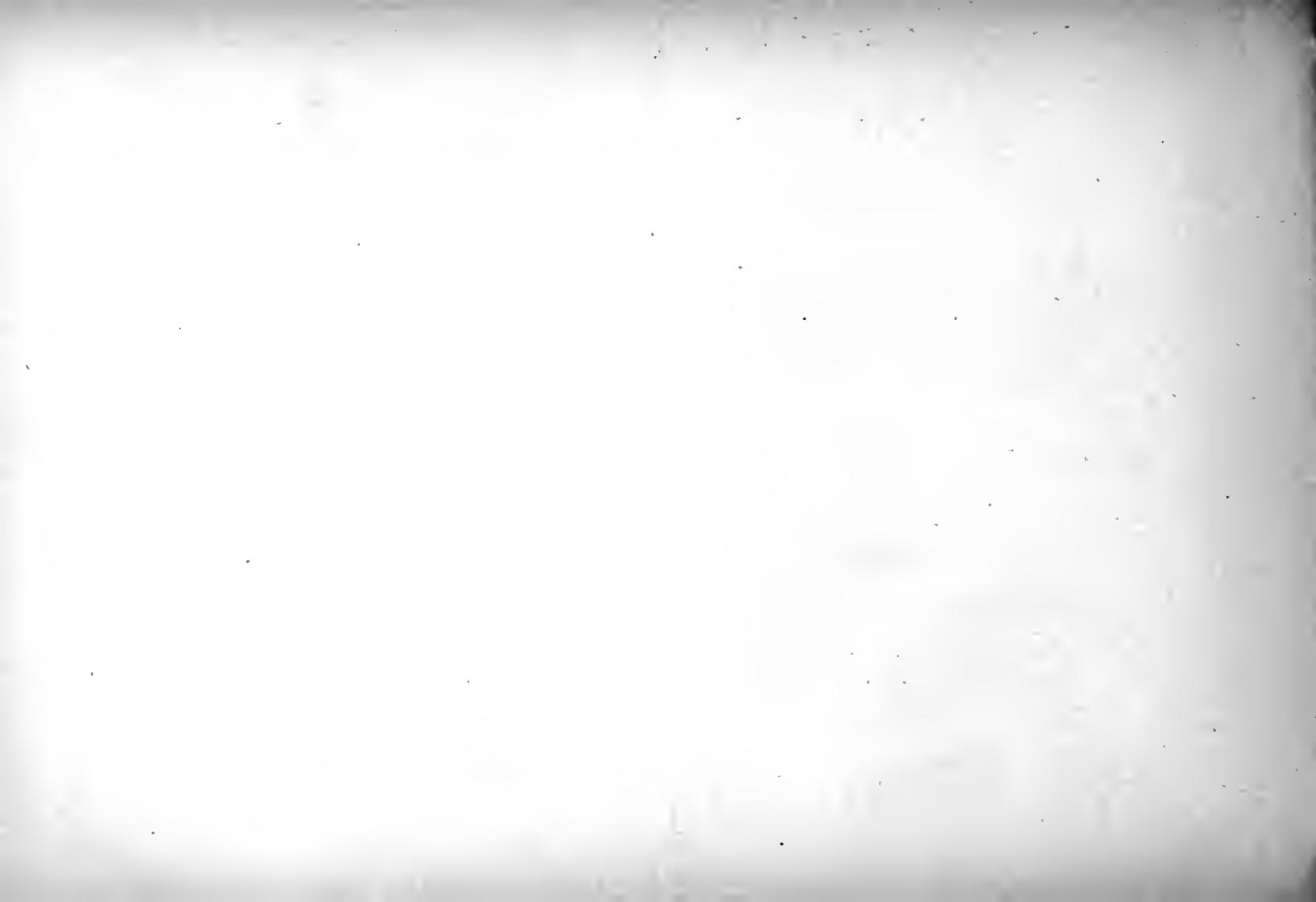
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were unopposed in their process of organizing an executive head for the Government, should proceed to do so as they did, regularly and in an orderly, firm and successful manner. Thus the abdication of Liliuokalani was confirmed and has so continued from that day to this. The Government of the United States has on various occasions recognized the succession to the executive authority as residing in the Provisional Government initiated at that public meeting at the arsenal and consummated on the 17th day of January by public proclamation. Then, on the 19th day of January according to the recognition of the United States from which there has been no dissent or departure, the interregnum ceased, and the executive head of the Government of Hawaii was established. Until this was completed, on the 17th day of January, by the proclamation of the Provisional Government, the United States was still charged, under every principle of law and justice, and under the highest obligation of duty, to keep her forces in Honolulu, and to enforce, in virtue of her sovereign authority, the rights of her citizens under the treaty obligations and also under the laws of Hawaii, relating to the safety of person and property and the rights of industry, commerce and hospitality in their free pursuit and enjoyment. And when the Provisional Government was thus established, it rested with the United States to determine whether the Government of Hawaii was so far rehabilitated and so safely established that these rights of her citizens could be intrusted to its keeping. The recognition of such a state of affairs, within a country whose executive depart-

ment has been made vacant in consequence of domestic strife, is quite a separate and different proceeding, both in form and effect, from the recognition of the political independence of a government that is complete in its organization. In the latter case the recognition excludes all rights of interference in its domestic affairs, while in the former it is the right and duty of supplying the protection of law to the citizen that makes interference necessary as well as lawful.

The independence of Hawaii as a sovereign State had been long recognized by the United States, and this unhappy occasion did not suggest the need of renewing that declaration. The question presented in Honolulu on and after the 12th of January, 1893, was whether the Queen continued to be the executive head of the Government of Hawaii. That was a question of fact which her conduct and that of her people placed in perilous doubt until it was decided by the proclamation of a new executive. Pending that question, there was no responsible executive government in Hawaii. On the 17th of January that doubt was resolved to the satisfaction of the American Minister, and of all other representatives of foreign governments in Hawaii, in favor of the Provisional Government. This recognition did not give to the Government of Hawaii the legal or moral right to expel the troops of any government, stationed in Honolulu in the period of interregnum, until it had so firmly established its authority as to give to foreigners the security to provide for which these troops had been landed. Good faith and honest respect for the right of

friendly nations would certainly require the withdrawal of all further interference with the domestic affairs of Hawaii as soon as that Government had provided security that was reasonably sufficient for the protection of the citizens of the United States. But the Government of the United States had the right to keep its troops in Honolulu until these conditions were performed, and the Government of Hawaii could certainly acquiesce in such a policy without endangering its independence or detracting from its dignity. This was done, and the troops from the *Boston* camped on shore for several months. The precise hour when or the precise conditions under which the American Minister recognized the Provisional Government is not a matter of material importance. It was his duty, at the earliest safe period, to assist by his recognition in the termination of the interregnum, so that citizens of the United States might be safely remitted to the care of that Government for the security of their rights. As soon as he was convinced that the Provisional Government was secure against overthrow, it was his duty to recognize the rehabilitated State. Whether this was done an hour or two sooner or later could make no substantial difference as to his rights or duties, if he was satisfied that the movement was safe against reversal. If no question of the annexation of Hawaii to the United States had existed, the conduct of the American minister in giving official recognition to the Provisional Government would not have been the subject of adverse criticism. But the presence of that question and his anxious advocacy of annexation did not relieve him from the

duty or abridge his right to call for the troops on the *Boston* to protect the citizens of the United States during an interregnum in the office of chief executive of Hawaii. They were not to be put into a state of outlawry and peril if the minister had been opposed to annexation, nor could his desire on that subject in any way affect their rights or his duty. He gave to them the protection they had the right to demand, and, in respect of his action up to this point, so far as it related to Hawaii, his opinions as to annexation have not affected the attitude of the United States Government, and the committee find no cause of censure either against Minister Stevens or Captain Wiltse, of the *Boston*.

Afterward, on the 1st day of February, 1893, the American minister caused the flag of the United States to be raised on the Government building in Honolulu, and assumed and declared a protectorate over that nation in the name of the United States. This act on the part of our minister was without authority, and was void for want of power. It was disavowed by Secretary Foster and rebuked by Secretary Gresham, and the order to abandon the protectorate and haul down the flag was in accordance with the duty and honor of the United States. To haul down the flag of the United States was only an order to preserve its honor.

The diplomatic officers of the United States in Hawaii have the right to much larger liberty of action in respect to the internal affairs of that country than would be the case with any other country with which we have no peculiar or special relations. In our diplomatic correspondence with Hawaii and

in the various treaties, some of them treaties of annexation, which have been signed and discussed, though not ratified, from time to time, there has been manifested a very near relationship between the two governments. The history of Hawaii in its progress, education, development, and government, and in Christianity, has been closely identified with that of the United States—so closely, indeed, that the United States has not at any time hesitated to declare that it would permit no intervention in the affairs of Hawaii by any foreign government which might tend to disturb the relations with the United States, or to gain any advantage there over the Americans who may have settled in that country. The United States has assumed and deliberately maintained toward Hawaii a relation which is entirely exceptional, and has no parallel in our dealings with any other people.

The justification for this attitude is not a matter with which this inquiry is necessarily connected, but its existence furnishes a good excuse, if excuse is needed, for a very lively concern on the part of our diplomatic representatives in everything that relates to the progress of that people.

The causes that have led to this peculiar situation are altogether apparent. They are in every sense honorable, just, and benevolent. One nation can not assume such an attitude toward another, especially if the latter is, by contrast, small weak and dependent upon the good will or forbearance of the world to its existence, without giving to it a guaranty of external and internal security.

The attitude of the United States toward Hawaii, thus voluntarily assumed, gives to Hawaii the right to regard it as such a guaranty.

In the absence of a police to establish a colonial system and of any disposition for territorial aggrandizement, the Government of the United States looked with approbation and gave encouragement to the labors and influence of its citizens in Hawaii, in laying the groundwork of a free and independent government there, which, in its principles and in the distribution of powers, should be like our own and ultimately become republican in form. This has been the unconcealed wish of the people of the United states, in which many of the native Hawaiians have participated.

Observing the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, the United States, in the beginning of our relations with Hawaii, made a firm and distinct declaration of the purpose to prevent the absorption of Hawaii or the political control of that country by any foreign power. Without stating the reasons for this policy, which included very important commercial and military considerations, the attitude of the United States toward Hawaii was in moral effect that of a friendly protectorate. It has been a settled policy of the United States that if it should turn out that Hawaii, for any cause, should not be able to maintain an independent government, that country would be encouraged in its tendency to gravitate toward political union with this country.

The treaty relations between Hawaii and the United States, as fixed by several conventions that have been ratified, and by

other negotiations have been characterized by a sentiment of close reciprocity. In addition to trade relations of the highest advantage to Hawaii, the United States has so far interfered with the internal policy of Hawaii as to secure an agreement from that Government restricting the disposal of bays and harbors and to the crown lands to other countries, and has secured exclusive privileges in Pearl Harbor of great importance to this Government.

This attitude of the two governments and the peculiar friendship of the two peoples, together with the advantages given to Hawaii in commerce, induced a large and very enterprising class of people from the United States to migrate to these islands and to invest large sums of money in the cultivation of sugar and rice, and in other trade and industry. The introduction of laborers from Japan and China in great numbers gave to the governing power in Hawaii a new and very significant importance, and made it necessary, for the protection of the interest of the white or European peoples and the natives, that the safeguards of the organic law of the Kingdom should be carefully preserved. In the efforts to secure these guarantees of safe government, no distinction of race was made as to the native or Kanaka population, but the Chinese and Japanese were excluded from participation in the government as voters, or as officeholders.

Apprehensions of civil disturbance in Hawaii caused the United States to keep ships of war at Honolulu for many years past, almost without intermission, and the instructions that were

given to our diplomatic and consular officers and to the naval commanders on that station went beyond the customary instructions applicable to other countries. In most instances, the instructions so given included the preservation of order and of the peace of the country, as well as the protection and preservation of the property and of the lives and treaty rights of American citizens.

The circumstances above mentioned, which the evidence shows to have existed, created a new light under which we must examine into the conduct of our diplomatic and naval officers in respect of the revolution that occurred in Hawaii in January, 1893. In no sense, and at no time, has the Government of the United States observed toward the domestic affairs of Hawaii the strict impartiality and the indifference enjoined by the general law of non-interference, in the absence of exceptional conditions. We have always exerted the privilege of interference in the domestic policy of Hawaii to a degree that would not be justified under our view of the international law, in reference to the affairs of Canada, Cuba or Mexico.

The cause of this departure from our general course of diplomatic conduct is the recognized fact that Hawaii has been all the time under a virtual suzerainty of the United States, which is, by an apt and familiar definition, a paramount authority, not in any actual sense and actual sovereignty, but a *de facto* supremacy over the country. This sense of paramount authority, of supremacy, with the right to intervene in the affairs of Hawaii, has never been lost sight of by the United

States to this day, and it is conspicuously manifest in the correspondence of Mr. Willis with Mr. Dole, which is set forth in the evidence which accompanies this report.

Another fact of importance in considering the conduct of our diplomatic and naval officers during the revolution of January, 1893, is that the annexation of Hawaii to the United States has been the subject of careful study and almost constant contemplation among Hawaiians and their kings since the beginning of the reign of Kamehameha I. This has always been regarded by the ruling power in Hawaii as a coveted and secure retreat—a sort of house of refuge—whenever the exigencies of fate might compel Hawaii to make her choice between home rule and foreign domination, either in the form of a protectorate, or of submission to some foreign sovereign.

Hawaii has always desired an escape to a freer government, when she has to be forced to the point where the surrender of racial pride and her standing as a nation would be the severe penalty of her weakness. Hawaiian prefer citizenship in a great republic to the slavery of subjection to any foreign monarchy. Annexation to the United States has never been regarded with aversion, or with a sense of national degradation, by the Hawaiian people. On the contrary, it has been adopted as a feature of political action by those who have attempted to recommend themselves to the support of the people in times of danger.

In the revolution of January, 1893, those who assumed the sovereign power, declaring that there was an interregnum, made

it a conspicuous part of their avowed purpose to remain in authority until Hawaii should be annexed to the United States. This was stated as an argument for the creation of a Provisional Government, without which there would be less advantage in the change of the situation. Annexation was an avowed purpose of the Provisional Government, because it would popularize the movement. No one could project a revolution in Hawaii for the overthrow of the monarchy, that would not raise the question among the people of annexation to the United States.

In the diplomatic correspondence of the United States with our ministers to Hawaii, frequent and favorable allusion is made to this subject as a matter of friendly consideration for the advantage of that country and people, and not as a result that would enhance the wealth or power of the United States. This treatment of the subject began very early in the history of Hawaiian civilization, and it was taken up and discussed by the people of the islands as a topic of patriotic inspiration. It was their habit to celebrate the anniversary of the independence of the United States as a national fete day. So that, there was no thought of conspiracy against the monarchy in openly favoring the project of annexation. Whether annexation is wise and beneficial to both countries is a question that must receive the consideration of both governments before it can be safely settled.

The testimony taken by the committee discloses the well-considered opinion of several of our most eminent naval and

military officers, that the annexation of Hawaii is a fact indispensable to the proper defense and protection of our western coast and cities. But this is a matter with which the committee is not especially charged, and reference is made to these opinions as supporting the statement that all intelligent men in Hawaii and in the United States who have taken pains to consider the subject, are convinced that the question is one deserving of thorough investigation and a correct and friendly decision. The question of annexation, however, is distinctly presented in the proclamation of the Provisional Government as one to be settled by the action of the Government of the United States.

Commissioners to treat with the United States for the annexation of Hawaii were sent to Washington immediately upon the adoption and promulgation of the Provisional Government, and they negotiated and signed a treaty in conjunction with Mr. Secretary Foster, which was submitted to the Senate of the United States and was subsequently withdrawn by the present administration. Accompanying that treaty was a paper signed by Liliuokalani, in which she stated no objection to the project of annexation to the United States, but in which she protested earnestly against her dethronement, and alleged that the United States, through the abuse by its diplomatic and naval officers of the powers entrusted to them, had virtually compelled her abdication. The President of the United States, after a further examination of the subject, concluded that it was his duty to withdraw this annexation treaty from the Senate for

further consideration, and so notified the Provisional Government through Mr. Willis, our present minister.

The recognition of the Provisional Government was lawful and authoritative, and has continued without interruption or modification up to the present time. It may be justly claimed for this act of recognition that it has contributed greatly to the maintenance of peace and order in Hawaii, and to the promotion of the establishment of free, permanent, constitutional government in Hawaii, based upon the consent of the people.

The complaint by Liliuokalani in the protest that she sent to the President of the United States and dated the 18th day of January, is not in the opinion of the committee, well founded in fact or in justice. It appears from the evidence submitted with this report that she was in fact the author and promoter of a revolution in Hawaii which involved the destruction of the entire constitution, and a breach of her solemn oath to observe and support it, and it was only after she had ascertained that she had made a demand upon her native subjects for support in this movement which they would not give to her, that she, for the time, postponed her determination to do so as soon as she could feel that she had the power to sustain the movement.

But the President of the United States, giving attention to Liliuokalani's claim that this Government had alarmed her by the presence of its troops into the abdication of her crown, believed that it was proper and necessary in vindication of the honor of the United States to appoint a commissioner to Hawaii who would make a careful investigation into the facts and send

the facts and his conclusions to the President, for his information. The commissioner, Mr. Blount, went to Hawaii under circumstances of extreme embarrassment and executed his instructions with impartial care to arrive at the truth, and he presented a sincere and instructive report to the President of the United States, touching the facts, the knowledge of which he thus acquired. In the agitated state of opinion and feeling in Hawaii at that time it was next to impossible to obtain a full, fair, and free declaration in respect of the facts which attended this revolution, and particularly was this difficult to obtain from the persons who actively participated in that movement.

The evidence submitted by the committee, in addition to that which was presented by Mr. Blount, having been taken under circumstances more favorable to the development of the whole truth with regard to the situation, has, in the opinion of the committee, established the fact that the revolutionary movement in Hawaii originated with Liliuokalani, and was promoted, provided for, and, as she believed, secured by the passage of the opium bill and the lottery bill through the Legislature, from which she expected to derive a revenue sufficient to secure the ultimate success of her purpose, which was distinctly and maturely devised to abolish the constitution of 1887, and to assume to herself absolute power, free from constitutional restraint of any serious character.

The fact cannot be ignored that this revolutionary movement of Liliuokalani, which had its development in the selection of a

new cabinet to supplant one which had the support of all the conservative elements in the islands, was set on foot and accomplished during the absence of the American minister on board the ship *Boston* during the ten days which preceded the prorogation of the Legislature. The astonishment with which this movement was received by the American emigrants and other white people residing in Hawaii, and its inauguration in the absence of the *Boston* and the American minister, show that those people, with great anxiety, recognized the fact that it was directed against them and their interests and welfare, and that when it was completed they would become its victims. These convictions excited the serious apprehensions of all the white people in those islands that a crisis was brought about in which not only their rights in Hawaii, and under the constitution, were to be injuriously affected, but that the ultimate result would be that they would be driven from the islands or, remaining there, would be put at the mercy of those who chose to prey upon their property. This class of people, who are intended to be ostracised supply nine-tenths of the entire tax receipts of the kingdom; and they were conscious that the purpose was to inflict taxation upon them without representation, or else to confiscate their estates and drive them out of the country. This produced alarm and agitation, which resulted in the counter movement set on foot by the people to meet and overcome the revolution which Liliuokalani had projected and had endeavored to accomplish. Her ministers were conscious of the fact that any serious resistance to her revolutionary

movement (of which they had full knowledge before they were inducted into office) would disappoint the expectations of the Queen and would result in the overthrow of the executive government; and, while they had evidently promised the Queen that they would support her in her effort to abolish the constitution of 1887 and substitute one which they had secretly assisted in preparing, when the moment of the trial came they abandoned her—they broke faith with her. The Queen's ministers took fright and gave information to the people of the existence of the movements and concealed purposes of the Queen and of her demands upon them to join her in the promulgation of the constitution, and they appealed to the committee of safety for protection, and continued in that attitude until they saw that the kindled wrath of the people would not take the direction of violence and bloodshed without the provocation of a serious necessity. Being satisfied that they could trust to the forbearance of the people, who were looking to the protection of their interests and had no desire for strife and bloodshed they began to finesse in a political way to effect a compromise between the people and the Queen, and they induced her to make the proclamation of her intentions to postpone the completion of her revolutionary purposes, which was circulated in Honolulu on Monday morning. These men, whose conduct cannot be characterized as anything less than perfidious, hastened to give to the President of the United States false and misleading statements of the facts leading up to, attending, and succeeding this revolution. To do this they

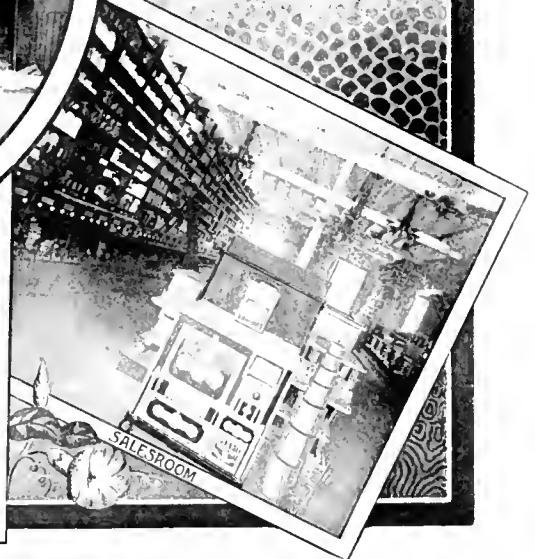
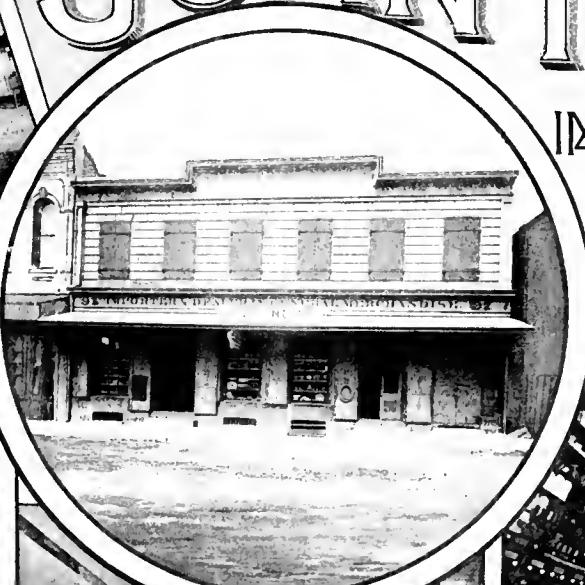
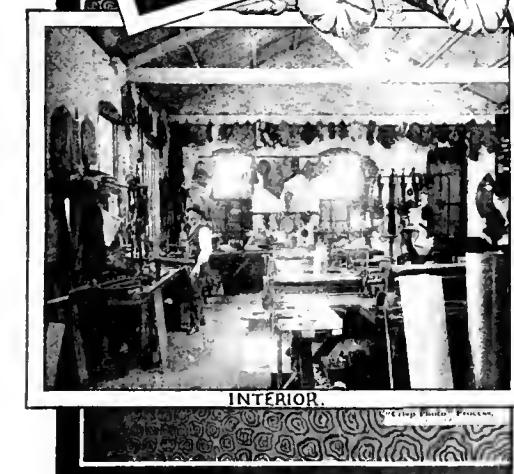
made deceptive and misleading statements to Mr. Blount. Upon them must rest the odium of having encouraged the Queen in her revolutionary intentions; of having then abandoned her in a moment of apparent danger; of having thrown themselves upon the mercy of the people, and then of making an attempt, through falsehood and misrepresentation, to regain power in the Government of Hawaii, which the people would naturally, forever deny to them.

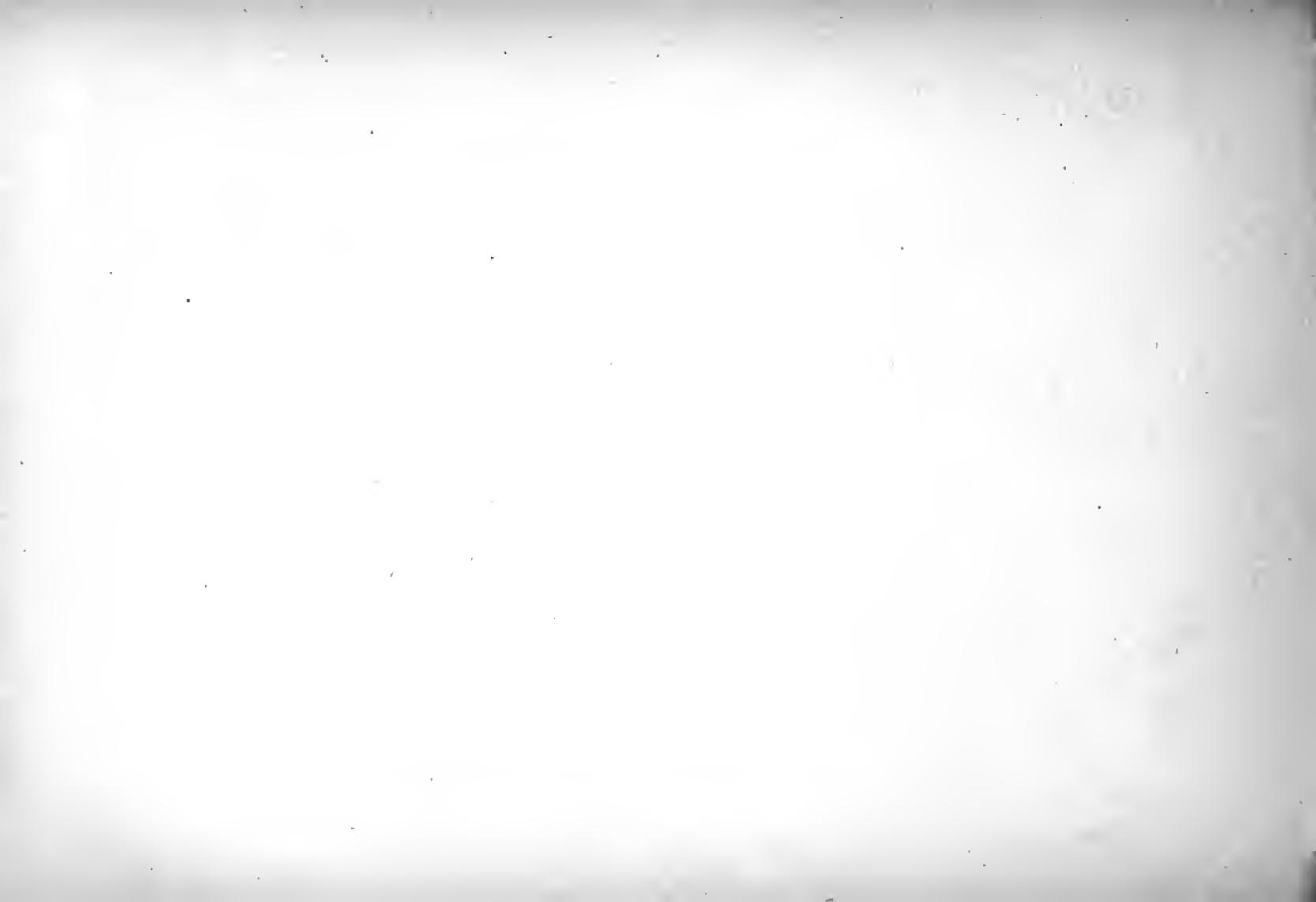
A question has been made as to the right of the President of the United States to despatch Mr. Blount to Hawaii as his personal representative for the purpose of seeking the further information which the President believed was necessary in order to arrive at a just conclusion regarding the state of affairs in Hawaii. Many precedents could be quoted to show that such power has been exercised by the President on various occasions without dissent on the part of Congress or the people of the United States. The employment of such agencies is a necessary part of the proper exercise of the diplomatic power which is intrusted by the constitution with the President. Without such authority our foreign relations would be so embarrassed with difficulties that it would be impossible to conduct them with safety or success. These precedents also show that the Senate of the United States, though in session, need not be consulted as to the appointment of such agents, or as to the instructions which the President may give them.

An authority was intrusted to Mr. Blount to remove the American flag from the Government building in Hawaii, and

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IN
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to disclaim openly and practically the protectorate which had been announced in that country by Minister Stevens, and also to remove the troops from Honolulu to the steamer *Boston*. This particular delegation of authority to Mr. Blount was paramount over the authority of Mr. Stevens, who was continued as minister resident of the United States at Honolulu, and it raised the question whether the Government of the United States can have at the same foreign capital two ministers, each of whom shall exercise separate and special powers.

There seems to be no reason why the Government of the United States cannot, in conducting its diplomatic intercourse with other countries, exercise powers as broad and general, or as limited and peculiar, or special, as any other government. Other governments have been for many years, and even centuries, in the habit of intrusting special and particular missions to one man representing them at a foreign court, and to several men in combination when that was found to be desirable. In fact, there has been no limit placed upon the use of a power of this kind, except the discretion of the sovereign or ruler of the country. The committee fail to see that there is any irregularity in such a course as that, or that the power given to Mr. Blount to withdraw the troops from Honolulu or to lower the flag of the United States was to any extent either dangerous or interrupting to any other lawful authority existing there in any diplomatic or naval officer. There may be a question as to the particular wording of the order which Mr. Blount gave to Admiral Skerrett for the lowering of the flag and the with-

drawal of the troops, but that is hypercriticism, because the substantial fact was that Mr. Blount executed the command of the President in communicating to Admiral Skerrett such order, as the order of the President of the United States. Mr. Blount's authority had been made known to Admiral Skerrett; his instructions had been exhibited to Admiral Skerrett; and they both understood that what Mr. Blount was then doing had received the sanction of the President of the United States before Mr. Blount had entered upon the discharge of his ministerial functions, and that his act would receive the unqualified approval of the President of the United States. That being so, the mere form in which the order was addressed to Admiral Skerrett seems to be a matter of no serious consequence.

The control given to Mr. Trist over the military operations in Mexico, when war was flagrant, was far greater than that which was confided to Mr. Blount. The secret orders given to the commanders of the Army and of the Navy on that occasion are set out in the appendix to this report.

When Mr. Willis arrived in Honolulu he was received by the Provisional Government, to which he was accredited, and an interchange of the usual courtesies was had between them. He carried instructions, as Minister of the United States, which did not concern the Government of Hawaii until they had been attended with a certain result which he endeavoured to bring about. That result was that Liliuokalani should agree that, in the event of her restoration to the throne, not by the action of the President of the United States, but in any other event,

or by any agreement, she would bind herself to grant full and free amnesty to all persons who had been engaged in opposition to her alleged authority. When that agreement had been obtained, Mr. Willis was instructed to submit it to the Provisional Government and ascertain whether they would agree to restore the Queen to the throne under those circumstances and upon those conditions. If this was intervention, it was in the interest of Americans in Hawaii. It was an exaction upon Liliuokalani which would forbid, under the penalty of war, that should she acquire the throne by whatever means, that she should openly disavow any purpose to inflict any pains and penalties upon those who had supported the Provisional Government. Liliuokalani, after several efforts on the part of Mr. Willis to obtain her consent to this proposition, finally signed it without the assent of her ministers, and it was attested by Mr. Carter, who was a personal and political friend. Her declaration or agreement thus signed and delivered to Mr. Willis was by him presented to the President of the Provisional Government (who was also minister of foreign affairs), and the question whether or not it would be accepted by the Government of Hawaii was submitted to him. Whereupon the President of the Provisional Government declined to accept the proposition; declined to yield the power which had been vested in him as the chief executive of Hawaii; and nothing more was done either to induce him, or to compel him, to consent to, or to assist in, the restoration of Liliuokalani to the throne or to the restoration of the Monarchy.

If, in this course of proceedings, the President of the United States had intended to compel obedience to what is termed his "decision" in the matter by using the force of the United States to assist the Queen in being enthroned, that would have been an act of war, entirely beyond his power, and would not have received the sanction of any considerable part of the American people, and would have no warrant in international law. But such was not the intention of the President, as is shown by contemporaneous acts, by his declarations, and by his subsequent treatment of the subject. Therefore, the question between the United States and Hawaii touching the propriety of an intervention in the domestic affairs of Hawaii to the extent of gaining the final decision and agreement of both parties upon these propositions is one that is strictly within the accepted right or authority of a sovereign to tender his good offices to reconcile the conflicts of two or more factions, or parties, that may be opposed to each other within any country. The tender of good offices has often been voluntarily made in the interest of humanity, of peace, of law, of order, or at the suggestion of one or two belligerent powers actually engaged in war. Sometimes it has been made at the suggestion of that party in a government, engaged in actual hostilities which had the evident power to crush its opponent by prosecuting the war to extremities. In such cases the intervention has often been accepted as a merciful interposition, and it has been considered an honor by other governments that they should be requested, under such circumstances, to exercise their good offices in favor

of procuring peace through a submission to inevitable results. When the tender of good offices is made at the request of both of the contending parties it is difficult to conceive how any sovereign of a foreign country could refuse to act in such matter.

In the public act by which the Provisional Government of Hawaii was established there was a distinct declaration that the Government was to continue until Hawaii was annexed to the United States. That declaration, apart from every other consideration, would have justified the United States in an interference for the protection of the Provisional Government which would not have been tolerated under other circumstances. That declaration created an intimacy of relationship between the United States and the recognized Government of Hawaii which is entirely exceptional, and which placed within the reach and control of the United States very largely, if not entirely, the disposal of those questions collateral to that of annexation which might have interfered with the peaceful and appropriate solution of any difficulty which might arise in its execution. So that the Provisional Government of Hawaii, having thus thrown itself into the arms of the United States in the first declaration of its existence, can not justly complain that the United States should scrutinize, under the authority thus given, all its pretensions of right thus to dispose of an entire country and people. And Liliuokalani, having reference to the same project of annexation, of which she was fully cognizant, made complaint that the United States had assisted

in driving her from her throne by bringing its troops on shore in military array at a time when there was no necessity for it, distinctly announced at the moment of her final and avowed abdication that she would abdicate provisionally and would await the decision of the United States as to whether that abdication and the destruction of the kingdom and the annexation of Hawaii to the United States should become completed facts. Under such circumstances the President of the United States, believing that the information then in possession of the Government was not sufficient to justify summary annexation, could not have done justice to himself, to his country, to the people of Hawaii, to the Provisional Government, or to Liliuokalani, without having made an effort to use his good offices for the purpose of ascertaining whether it was practicable that the Queen should be restored to her authority, leaving the question to be determined by the people interested in Hawaii whether such restoration would be acceptable to them or not. If Liliuokalani had been restored to her throne by the consent of the membership of the Provisional Government, upon the terms and conditions of the proposition which she signed and delivered to Mr. Willis, the President of the United States would not have been in any sense responsible for her restoration, would not have espoused the monarchy, nor would he have done anything that was contradictory of American sentiment, opinion, or policy. He would only have been the mutual friend, accepted, really, by both parties, whose intervention would have secured, with their consent, the final solution of

that question. In the absence of such committal on his part to the claims of Liliuokalani or resistance on his part to the recognized rights of the Provisional Government, there is no reason for withholding approval of the conduct of the President of the United States in thus accepting and executing a function which he was entitled to perform, in submitting the question, in due and final form, to the contending parties or factions in Hawaii, whether they preferred to maintain the authority of the Provisional Government, with whatever results may follow from that, or a return to the monarchy under Liliuokalani.

Therefore your committee conclude to report that the President of the United States has not, in this particular, in any wise been a party to any irregularity or any impropriety of conduct in his high office.

The committee find nothing worthy of criticism in the negotiation of the treaty of annexation with the Provisional Government of Hawaii.

The revolution in Hawaii had the effect of displacing one chief of the executive department and substituting another. Except the Queen and her cabinet, no officer of the Government was removed. The legislative body, including the house of nobles and house of representatives and their presiding officers, remained in commission. The supreme court and all other judicial magistracies and the officers of the courts were left undisturbed, and, when the interregnum ended, they pursued their duties without change of interruption; commerce

with foreign countries and between the islands was not in any way prevented, and the commercial and banking houses were open for business, which resumed activity when the executive head of the Government was again in the exercise of lawful authority.

The Government had not been displaced and another substituted, but only a department which was left vacant had been rehabilitated.

When this was done and the fact was recognized, the Government of Hawaii was as competent to treat of annexation to the United States as it had ever been, or as it will ever be, until the United States shall decide that it will annex no more territory unless with the consent of the people to be annexed, to be ascertained by a plebiscite.

Complaint is made also that this project of annexation was attempted to be consummated in too great haste.

That raises a question of due consideration; for, if the people of both countries desired it, or if, according to every precedent to be found in the various annexations of countries and States to the United States, the respective governments desired it, speedy action in completing the cession was desirable for many obvious reasons, among which the injurious disturbance of commerce and danger to the public peace growing out of a protracted agitation of so grave a matter, are conspicuous.

But this is a question of long standing, which has been under favorable consideration by the kings and people of Hawaii and the Government and people of the United States for more than fifty years.

It is well understood, and its importance increases with every new event of any consequence in Hawaii, and with the falling-in of every island in the Pacific Ocean that is captured by the great maritime powers of Europe. The committee have copied, in the Appendix to this report, portions of the remarks of Hon. William F. Draper in the House of Representatives on the 4th of February, 1894, which refer in a very clear and concise way to the progress of foreign intervention in the Pacific Ocean by European powers.

A President informed as to the history of his country could find no difficulty in dealing with the question of the annexation of Hawaii to the United States on the ground that it is new; and a minister to Hawaii who should fail to inform his Government of the political changes in Hawaii that would affect that question would neglect his duty.

It is not a just criticism upon the correspondence of Minister Stevens with his Government that he earnestly advocated annexation. In this he was in line with Mr. Marcy and nearly every one of his successors as Secretary of State, and with many of Mr. Stevens' predecessors as minister to Hawaii. His letters to his Government were written under the diplomatic confidence that is requisite to secure freedom in such communications, and were not expected to come under the scrutiny of all mankind. They show no improper spirit and are not impeachable as coloring or perverting the truth, although some matters stated by him may be classed as severe reflections. Whatever motives may have actuated or controlled any repre-

sentative of the Government of the United States in his conduct of our affairs in Hawaii, if he acted within the limits of his powers, with honest intentions, and has not placed the Government of the United States upon false and untenable grounds, his conduct is not irregular.

But, in his dealings with the Hawaiian Government, his conduct was characterised by becoming dignity and reserve, and was not in any way harsh or offensive. In the opinion of the committee, based upon the evidence which accompanies this report the only substantial irregularity that existed in the conduct of any officer of the United States, or agent of the President, during or since the time of the revolution of 1893, was that of Minister Stevens in declaring a protectorate of the United States over Hawaii, and in placing the flag of our country upon the Government building in Honolulu. No actual harm resulted from this unauthorized act, but as a precedent it is not to be considered as being justified. The committee have not considered it necessary to present any resolutions stating the conclusions that are indicated in this report, and ask that they be discharged from the further consideration of the resolutions under which this report is made.

We are in entire accord with the essential findings in the exceedingly able report submitted by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. But it is our opinion—

First. That the appointment on the 11th day of March,

1893, without the advice and consent of the Senate, of Hon. James H. Blount as "special commissioner" to the Hawaiian Government under letters of credence and those of instruction, which declared that "in all matters affecting relations with the Government of the Hawaiian Islands his authority is paramount" was an unconstitutional act, in that such appointee, Mr. Blount, was never nominated to the Senate, but was appointed without its advice and consent, although that body was in session when such appointment was made, and continued to be in session for a long time immediately thereafter.

Second. The orders of the Executive Department by which the naval force of the United States in the harbor of Honolulu was in effect placed under the command of Mr. Blount or of Mr. Willis were without authority or warrant of law.

Third. The order given by Mr. Blount to Admiral Skerrett to lower the United States ensign from the Government building in Honolulu and to embark the troops on the ships to which they belonged, was an order which Mr. Blount had no lawful authority to give. Its object was not to terminate a protectorate. That relation had been disavowed by the administration of President Harrison immediately upon receiving information of its establishment. The flag and troops, when such order was given by Mr. Blount, were in the positions from which he ordered them to be removed for the purpose of maintaining order and protecting American life and property. Their presence had been effectual to those ends, and their removal tended to create, and did create, public excitement

and, to a degree, distrust of the power of the Provisional Government to preserve order or to maintain itself. That order of Mr. Blount was susceptible of being construed as indicating an unfriendly disposition on the part of the United States toward the Provisional Government, and it was so construed, particularly by the people of Hawaii.

In the light of subsequent relations between Mr. Blount and his successor, Mr. Willis, with the Queen, whose office had become vacant by her deposition and abdication under the attack of a successful revolution, this order and its execution were most unfortunate and untoward in their effect. Such relations and intercourse by Messrs. Blount and Willis with the head and with the executive officers of an overthrown government, conducted for the purpose of restoring that government by displacing its successor, were in violation of the constitution and of the principles of international law and were not warranted by the circumstances of the case.

Fourth. The question of the rightfulness of the revolution, of the lawfulness of the means by which the deposition and abdication of the Queen were effected, and the right of the Provisional Government to exist and to continue to exist was conclusively settled, as the report so forcibly states, against the Queen and in favor of the Provisional Government, by the act of the administration of President Harrison recognizing such Provisional Government, by the negotiation by that administration with such Provisional Government of a treaty of annexation to the United States; by accrediting diplomatic





representation by such administration, and by the present administration to such Provisional Government; therefore, it incontrovertibly follows that the President of the United States had no authority to attempt to reopen such determined questions, and to endeavor by any means whatever to overthrow the Provisional Government or to restore the monarchy which it had displaced.

While it is true that a friendly power may rightfully tender its good offices of mediation or advice in cases such as that under present consideration, it is also true that the performance of such offices of mediation or advice ought not to be entered upon without the consent previously given by both the parties whom the action or decision of the friendly power may affect. Such consent was not given in the present instance. The Provisional Government never so consented; it was never requested to consent. It denied the jurisdiction of the present administration on every proper occasion. Therefore the proceedings by the President, which had for their result his request and monition to the Provisional Government to surrender its powers, to give up its existence and to submit to be displaced by the

monarchy which it had overthrown, had no warrant in law, nor in any consent of one of the parties to be affected by such proceedings.

Fifth. The avowed opinion of the President of the United States, in substance, that it is the duty of this Government to make reparation to the Queen by endeavoring to reinstate her upon her throne by all constitutional methods, is a clear definition of the policy of the present administration to that end. The instructions to Messrs. Blount and Willis must be construed to be other and more ample forms of expression of that policy. No other presumption is permissible than that their actions at Honolulu were with intent to carry out that avowed policy. These considerations make immaterial any discussion, in this connection, of the personal intentions, circumspection or good faith of these gentlemen in the performance of the task to which they had been plainly commanded by the present administration.

JOHN SHERMAN.

W.M. P. FRYE.

J. N. DOLPH.

CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.



HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE REPUBLIC

BY THE

ADHERENTS OF LILIUOKALANI IN JANUARY, 1895.

COMPILED BY WALLACE R. FARRINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

RISE AND FALL OF THE REBELLION.

The unfriendly attitude of the American Administration toward the Republic and the withdrawal of the United States man-of-war from the Honolulu harbor early in September, gave the adherents of Liliuokalani, who sought to re-establish Monarchical rule in the Islands, renewed assurance that theirs might be a winning cause and the spirit of conspiracy became so thoroughly established that a number of private detectives were kept in the employ of the Marshal of the Islands watching those who were suspected as possible leaders in a revolutionary movement. During the closing weeks of the year 1894, the evidence obtained by the police department made the government apprehensive of trouble, though just what form it would take, and to place the leaders in the movement was beyond

the power of the officials. Many supporters of the government were disposed to criticise the Marshal as being unnecessarily cautious, but as subsequent events showed, it was by the untiring vigilance of Marshal Hitchcock that the most deep seated, and if successful, the most disastrous revolution the country has ever known, was nipped in the bud, the plot laid bare and the plotters brought to justice.

With the first days of the year 1895 came daily and steadily increasing evidence of an attempt to overthrow the Republic. The keeper of the lookout station on Diamond Head reported that he had been requested not to signal the arrival of the steamer Waimanalo off the harbor. On Thursday night, Jan. 3rd, a mysterious gathering of natives was broken up at Kakaako on the water front of the city. On the following Saturday night a large number of natives were noticed coming into the city from the outlying districts, and saloons, generally crowded

with natives and half-whites on Saturday evenings, were well nigh deserted.

Sunday afternoon, January 6, 1895, the Marshal received positive information of a gathering of natives and the location of a quantity of arms at the house of Henry Bertlemann, about five miles from the city on the road running around the base of Diamond Head. Deputy Marshal Arthur M. Brown was sent out to watch the place and note those going and coming. About five o'clock in the afternoon Captain Robert Parker, senior captain of the police and a squad of native police were sent out with a warrant to search the premises. Arriving near the house they found it guarded and were fired on as they approached. This was an unexpected reception and they retreated. Charles L. Carter, Alfred Carter, James B. Castle and A. L. C. Atkinson, who were living at Waikiki, heard the firing and armed with rifles, ran quickly toward the Bertlemann place to render aid. They met Deputy Marshal Brown with Captain Parker and the police at the entrance of the lane leading from Kapiolani Park. Mr. Atkinson was sent to town with a message, and with its reinforcement the party again returned toward the Bertlemann house. They met no resistance on entering the yard and proceeded to the house where they found Bertlemann in the sitting room, quietly reading. Deputy Marshal Brown entered the house, made known his mission, and at the request of Bertlemann read the search warrant. Meanwhile other members of the party went around the house. As Mr. Carter and Mr. Castle approached the

canoe shed, which is perhaps twenty-five feet from the house toward the sea, they saw forms in the shed and Mr. Carter rushed toward the entrance followed by Mr. Castle and Alfred Carter. Firing immediately began, Charles Carter being wounded in the breast. On entering the shed he fell and at that time undoubtedly received the fatal shot in the abdomen. The firing became general, the native police being engaged with a number of the rebels firing from a clump of trees. Those in the canoe house quickly scattered and ran up the beach, firing as they went. The two men captured by the police were taken into the house and with Bertlemann placed under guard. Charles Carter, who was by this time suffering from most agonizing pain, was laid on a bed in the house. The two native police, Holi and Logan who had been wounded in the scrimmage were also taken into the house where the small searching party stood watch over the prisoners and awaited assistance from the town.

The news that fighting was going on at Waikiki reached town between half past seven and eight o'clock while a large proportion of the people were at the evening services of the churches. Marshal Hitchcock realizing that he had trouble of a serious nature on his hands called out the Citizens' Guard, the military was also ordered to rendezvous and within two hours of sounding the first alarm, the government had fully one thousand men under arms guarding the streets of the city.

A Cabinet meeting was immediately called at the police station and the advisability of declaring martial law discussed.

There was a decided difference of opinion which resulted in an adjournment till the morning. Meanwhile a party of regulars under Lieut. King was sent to the Bertlemann house, and with the volunteer companies at their posts of rendezvous and the Citizens' Guard patrolling the streets the government waited for developments. Little or nothing was known of the plans or extent of the uprising. It was apparent the rebels had arms and plenty of them, but as to the number gathered at Diamond Head, their leaders and organization, the prospect of armed bands of men attacking the city from other directions, or the possibility of an uprising in the town with mobs fighting in the streets, the government knew nothing. The threatened outbreak had come and the government must be prepared to meet force with force, was the epitome of the situation Sunday night, January 6th. The government forces consisted of two companies of regulars, five of volunteers, including a company of Sharpshooters, the Citizens' Guard, native police and mounted patrol, in all aggregating about 1200 men. All but the Citizen's Guard were armed with regulation Springfield or Winchester rifles, the members of the last organization furnishing their own arms. The Citizens' Guard having a regular company organization under Capt. F. B. McStocker, was subject to orders from the Marshal or Attorney-General as an emergency auxiliary of the police department.

DEATH OF CARTER.

Monday morning, January 7th, at 5:30 o'clock, Charles L. Carter died from wounds received in the fight of the previous

night. This was a sad and unexpected blow to the community as it had been generally reported that his injuries were not of a serious nature. The funeral occurred on the afternoon of the same day. Charles Lunt Carter, the eldest son of H. A. P. and Sybil A. Carter, was born in Honolulu, November 30, 1864. His early education was obtained in schools of his native country, after which he attended the Michigan School of Law at Ann Arbor, graduating in 1887. He returned to Honolulu and became prominent in legal and political circles, and in 1893 was a member of the Commission sent to Washington to petition the annexation of the Islands to the United States. He was prominent in framing the Constitution of the Republic, and at the election of 1894 was elected representative to the Legislature from the Fourth District of Oahu.

MARTIAL LAW DECLARED.

In the early morning of the 7th, preparations were made to attack the force of rebels. The Cabinet held an early session and the following proclamation of Martial Law was issued:

EXECUTIVE BUILDING,
HONOLULU, January 7, 1895. {

The right of writ of habeas corpus is hereby suspended and Martial Law is instituted and established throughout the Island of Oahu, to continue until further notice, during which

time, however, the Courts will continue in session and conduct ordinary business as usual, except as aforesaid.

By the President,

SANFORD B. DOLE,
President of the Republic of Hawaii.

J. A. KING,
Minister of the Interior.

It became evident that the active force of the rebellious element was intrenched at Diamond Head, and parties were sent out to make attacks by way of Waikiki, the Moiliili road and from the sea. The government field pieces backed up by the sharp musketry proved effective in driving the rebels toward the top of Diamond Head where they were located when the night of the 7th fell.

Within the city of Honolulu business was practically suspended, nearly all the clerks and heads of the business houses being on guard in the city or in the field. No steamers or vessels were allowed to depart, and a strict guard was kept all along the water front. About noon the Marshal began to arrest the men prominent in the Royalist cause, and by nightfall about twenty had been put in prison, including Charles Clark, who was known as one of the "hangars on" of the ex-Queen since the overthrow, and who proved a valuable witness for the government. At the time of his arrest, a large assortment of arms—nine rifles and five pistols of the finest workmanship—were taken from Washington Place. Mrs. Dominis had left

her residence early in the morning and with Mrs. Nowlein, one of her attendants, had gone to Ewa.

During the afternoon of January 7th, several of the rebels were captured, and from them it was learned that the insurgents were under the command of Robert Wilcox and Samuel Nowlein, with Carl Widemann, W. H. C. Greig and Louis Marshall as Lieutenants. Wilcox had received military instruction in Italy during the days of King Kalakaua, and had always displayed a revolutionary turn of mind, having been the leader of the fiasco of 1887. Samuel Nowlein served in the military under the Monarchy, and after the overthrow of 1893 had lived at Washington Place as a retainer of the ex-Queen. Widemann was the son of Judge H. A. Widemann, one of the ex-Queen's Commissioners to President Cleveland. Greig and Marshall were young clerks in business houses of Honolulu. With the exception of Marshall all these men were half-caste Hawaiians, the latter being of American parentage. Their followers were made up principally of natives and half-castes who had been day laborers about the city.

Early on the morning of the 8th, it was discovered that the rebels under cover of darkness and by reason of their superior knowledge of passes in the mountains, had escaped from Diamond Head and were endeavoring to mass their forces in one of the valleys back of Honolulu. Startling rumors from the Ewa district to the effect that a filibuster party was landing near Waianae led to the dispatch of a detail from the Sharpshooters under Capt. J. A. King on the steamer Claudine to cruise about the threatened

district. The story proved to be a canard, and the party returned early in the evening. Another expedition by water was made under command of Hon. H. P. Baldwin on the steamer Ke Au Hou to ascertain the condition of affairs on the other Islands, it having been rumored that an uprising would take place on Maui, simultaneously with that in Honolulu. This expedition returned on the evening of the 9th, having found everything quiet on the other Islands.

The movements of the military companies were centered on an endeavor to locate the rebel forces, and prevent their escape beyond the confines of the valleys back of the city. It soon became evident that the rebel leaders had little control over their men whose principal desire was to get away from the fighting front. On the afternoon of Wednesday, a lively skirmish was precipitated by an attempt to surround some of Wilcox's men in Manoa valley. This resulted in one rebel killed, one wounded, two taken prisoners and the final escape of the principal part of the band into Pauoa valley. The advantage of the rebels lay in their familiarity with the passes in the sharp mountain ridges that separate the valleys and the ability of the native to pick his way through the lantana thickets, which to the white man are practically impenetrable. By Wednesday night it was very apparent that so far as any offensive movement on the part of the rebels was concerned, the fighting was finished. Men taken prisoners told of days and nights in the mountains without food or shelter. They had been armed with

Winchester carbines and a good portion of the men had no idea how to manipulate the guns, much less do effective work with them.

From this time on the efforts of the government forces were expended in capturing the rebel leaders, Wilcox, Nowlein, Widemann, Marshall, Greig and Lot Lane. Arrests among the whites in and about the city were constantly being made by virtue of the evidence drawn from those taken prisoners in the field and arrests made in the city. It was clear to the conspirators that the government was receiving correct information, which fact caused not a little consternation in the ranks of upwards of two hundred men who were imprisoned during the first two weeks of the rebellion.

January 14th was a notable day. In the forenoon, Nowlein, Widemann, Greig and Marshall surrendered themselves to the authorities, and during the afternoon Robert Wilcox was captured in the outskirts of the city. The men were haggard and worn and appeared thankful to escape with their lives. Feeling among the government supporters was at highest tension and it was generally demanded that the leaders of the insurrection suffer the death penalty. The murder of Charles Carter and the anarchist plan of attack, which, if carried out, must have resulted in the indiscriminate death of women and children accenuated this feeling, and again, it was believed that stern measures would put an end to the series of periodical political embroglios from which the country had suffered during the past ten years.

Although it was the general impression that ex-Queen Liliuokalani was thoroughly conversant with every preliminary move in the plot to overthrow the Republic, and was in fact a co-conspirator, the government officials, although keeping a close watch on the woman, refrained from putting her under arrest until unquestionable evidence was obtained connecting her with the affair. On the forenoon of January 16th, Deputy Marshal Brown and Senior Captain Parker of the police force served a military warrant on the ex-Queen at her Washington Place residence. She offered no protest and accompanied them to the Executive Building, where she was taken into custody by Lieut. Col. J. H. Fisher, commanding the military forces and placed under guard in one of the commodious rooms of her former palace. Mrs. Charles Wilson accompanied her as an attendant and all possible was done to insure her comfort in the new quarters. The evening of the same day, Captain Parker and Deputy Marshal Brown accompanied by Charles Clark as a guide, searched the premises and unearthed a small arsenal consisting of eleven pistols, thirteen Springfield rifles, twenty-one Winchester rifles, five swords, thirty-eight full belts of pistol cartridges, one thousand loose cartridges and twenty-one dynamite bombs. A number of the bombs were made of cocoanut shells filled with giant powder, but the greater proportion were iron shells filled with giant powder and small bird shot, with cap and fuse ready for

immediate use. These, with the draft of a new Constitution and Commissions for officials of the government that was to be instituted, left no doubt as to the knowledge of the ex-Queen Liliuokalani of the plans of the revolutionists.

CHAPTER II.

TRIAL OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS.

The problem of bringing the political prisoners to justice was a matter entailing quite as much careful thought and discretion, as unearthing the plot of the conspirators, and putting down the rebellion. The prisoners anticipated little more consideration than would be received at the hands of a drum-head court martial, but notwithstanding the government was firm in its determination to impress upon them the serious nature of the crime committed, there was no disposition to administer punishment with radical haste or without due attention to the testimony of each defendant. Under advisement of the Executive and Advisory Councils, President Dole, by the constitutional authority vested in him as Commander-in-chief of the armed forces, caused to be issued on January 16th, an order for a Military Commission "to meet at Honolulu, Island of Oahu, on the 17th day of January, A. D. 1895, at 10 A. M., and thereafter from day to day for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before it on the charges and specifications to be

presented by the Judge Advocate." The officers of the Court were :

Colonel William Austin Whiting, First Regiment, N. G. H.
Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Fisher, First Regiment, N. G. H.
Captain C. W. Ziegler, Company F, N. G. H.
Captain J. M. Camara, Jr., Company C, N. G. H.
Captain J. W. Pratt, Adjutant, N. G. H.
Captain W. C. Wilder, Jr., Company D, N. G. H.
First Lieutenant J. W. Jones, Company D, N. G. H.
Captain William A. Kinney, Aide-de-Camp on General Staff,
Judge Advocate.

Colonel Whiting and Captain Kinney were commissioned as officers of the National Guard under an act passed by the Advisory Council authorizing the Commander-in-Chief to fill vacancies by appointment during martial law. Mr. Whiting was a Judge in the Circuit Court and Mr. Kinney a member of the Honolulu bar who had assisted the Government in obtaining evidence against those implicated in the uprising. The other members of the Commission were regularly elected line officers of the military forces and had been members of the National Guard since its organization in 1893.

The trials were held in the Legislative Hall of the Executive building and were open to the general public, special accommodations also being made for the attendance of the diplomatic corps. No restrictions were placed upon the press of the country, except that no comments on the conduct of the trials or the testimony offered was allowed.

The first men brought before the Commission were Henry F. Bertelmann, W. Lane, James Lane, Carl Widemann, W. H. C. Greig, Louis Marshall, Robert W. Wilcox and Sam Nowlein, charged with "Treason, by abetting, procuring, counselling, inciting and aiding others to commit treason, and to engage in open rebellion against the Government of the Republic of Hawaii, and by attempting by force and arms to overthrow and destroy the same, and by levying war against the same." The prisoners were allowed counsel, Paul Neumann acting as the leading attorney throughout the trials. Other lawyers who appeared as counsel at different times, were Antone Rosa, S. K. Ka-ne, J. Kaulukou and Jas. A. Magoon.

One of the first moves of the counsel was to raise objection to the jurisdiction of the Commission on the following grounds: "That no military or other law exists in the Hawaiian Islands under which a Military Commission is authorized to try any person for a statutory crime. That under the proclamation of martial law the general authority of the Courts of the Republic created by the Constitution continues, and they have authority to conduct all business which comes properly before them, and have the sole authority to try persons accused of offenses such as are specified in the charges before the Commission."

Lawyer Neumann, in defending his objection, called attention to the fact that the limit of martial law is in the Commander-in-Chief. If such was the case, then the accused were not given the rights allowed under the Constitution. He

claimed that the Military Commission had no right to try a crime committed against the Republic of Hawaii, which had Civil Courts in which fair trial would be given. The accused had a right to appeal to the country and its laws. There was nothing to show that the Commission had any right to act unless it showed the exigency. The rebellion was a thing of the past.

The Judge-Advocate stated that martial law is a law of necessity, in which the question of necessity rests in the discretion of the Executive and nobody can call it in question. The right had been exercised; there was nothing more to say. Referring to the section of the order which allowed the Courts to proceed with routine business, Captain Kinney said, "Sound common sense clearly shows what the intention was, and no man need err therein, though a fool." He refused to argue whether the Executive exercised the right of law judiciously. Answering the objection that the rebellion had been put down and no actual hostilities existed, Captain Kinney said, "God knows whether they do or not. No one knew whether they did when men hurried from their beds on the night of January 6th. No man is yet assured of where we stand."

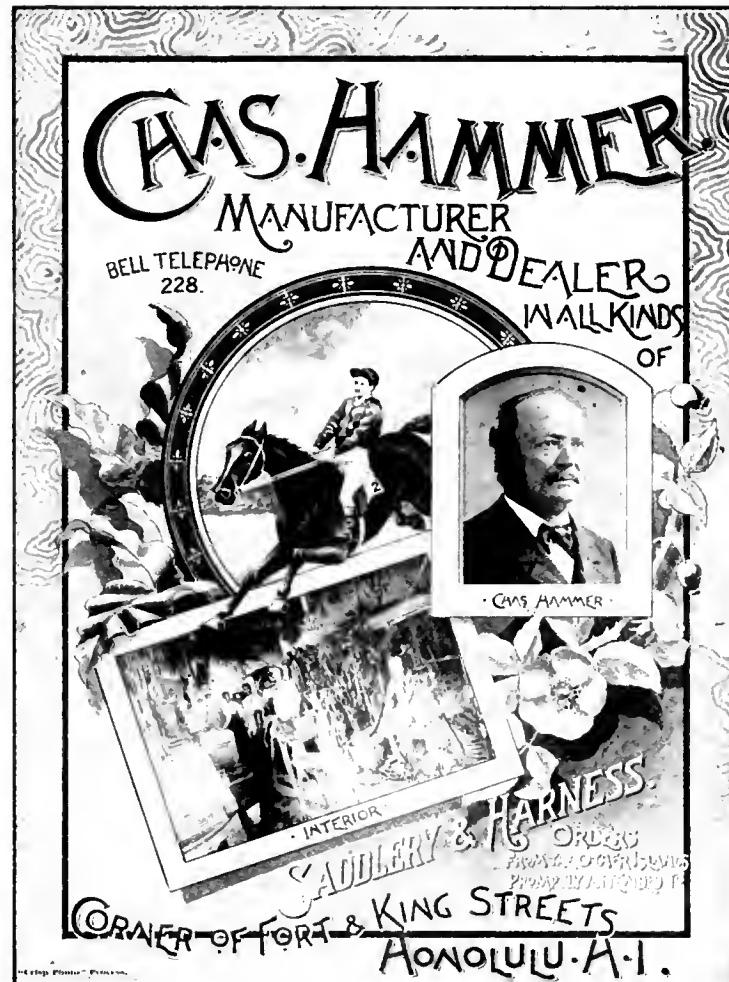
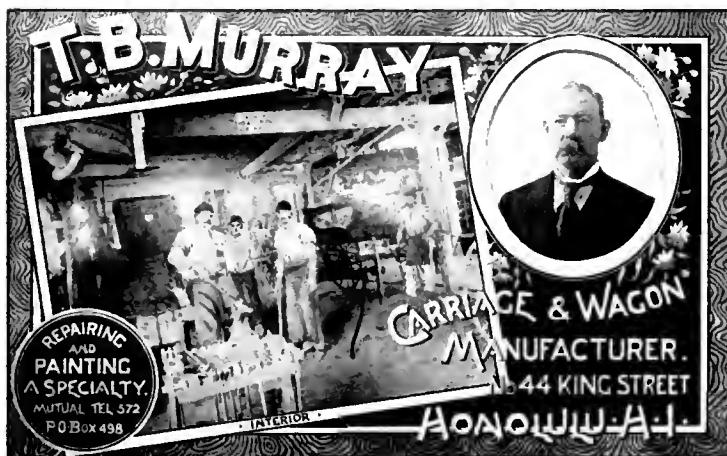
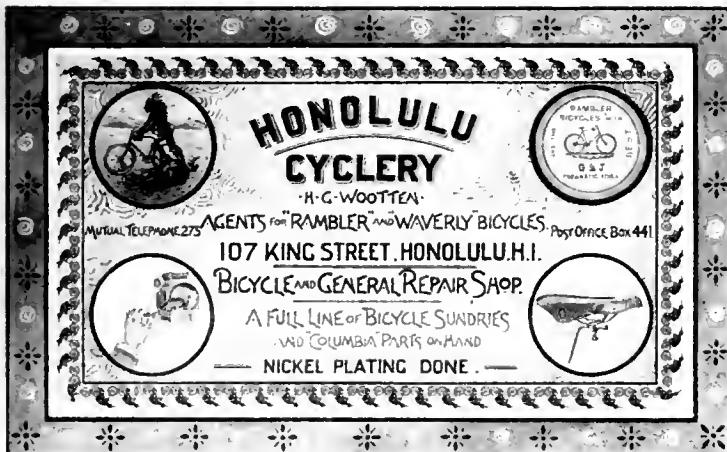
The Commission overruled the objection and the trial proceeded.

Bertleman, Wilcox and Nowlein pleaded guilty to charges and specifications. The others declined to plead on advice of counsel. The Government's case was strengthened by confessions made by Samuel Nowlein, organizer of the military

rebel forces; Henry Bertleman, at whose house the first outbreak occurred, and Captain Davis, George Townsend and Charles Warren, who assisted in landing arms. The trial of these eight leaders in the field was completed on Saturday the 19th. With the exception of Nowlein and Bertleman each of the prisoners went on the witness stand and made statements as to their connection with the rebellion. The counsel for the defense made a strong plea for clemency of the prisoners, most of whom were Hawaiian born. Judge-Advocate Kinney in his argument laid great stress on the fact that the time and opportunity had come to put an end to the biennial uprising to which the country had been subjected. Those representing and supporting the present and only lawful government demanded a fair, just and reasonable decision at the hands of the Commission.

None of the findings of the Commission were made public till the trials were completed.

On Monday, January 21st, the Commission began the trial of Charles T. Gulick, William H. Rickard, Thomas B. Walker and William T. Seward. These men were among the prime movers of the revolt, although they took no part in the open hostilities. Gulick and Seward were of American parentage, the latter having served in the Union forces during the War of the Rebellion. Gulick was a descendant of one of the prominent missionary families; was a member of the Honolulu bar and took an active part in politics under the Monarchy, serving at one time as Minister of the Interior. Rickard and





Walker were of English parentage, the former being at one time numbered among the well-to-do sugar planters of the country. Of late years he had lost heavily and was practically bankrupt. Walker was a contractor and builder, who, after the down-fall of the Monarchy, gave quite as much attention to plotting against the Government as to his business affairs.

These four organizers of the rebellion were called to answer to the charge of treason. Gulick, Seward and Rickard plead not guilty to each charge and specification. Walker pleaded guilty to the specifications charging him with aiding and abetting rebellion and procuring munitions for the insurgents. The trial of these four men lasted four days, during which time the witnesses for the Government laid bare the plot of the rebellion, over which these men had practically acted as supervisors. Among the witnesses who gave the most damaging evidence were Nowlein and Bertelmann, Captain Davies, captain of the Steamer Waimanalo which was used in landing the arms; John Cummins, with whom "Major" Seward had lived during the greater part of his residence in the islands, and William F. Kaae, who had acted as private secretary to Liliuokalani during her residence at Washington place.

The evidence presented showed that Seward had made a trip to San Francisco in December of 1894, procured the arms and ammunition and arranged for shipment to Honolulu. Rickard had assumed the task of looking after the arms on their arrival. Gulick acted as legal adviser, having assisted in drafting the Constitution and Cabinet Commission for the new Government.

Walker, besides being an all round instigator, had provided for the manufacture of dynamite bombs which were to be used in the street fighting. To him had been assigned the task of leading the forces that were to attack the police station. Statements to this effect were made by Walker himself, who went on the stand as a witness in order to protect members of his family from being brought before the commission as witnesses. On the last day of the trial Gulick made a written statement in which he denied having taken any part in or having any knowledge of the plottings against the Republic. It was proved conclusively however, that he had not only drafted the constitution, and forms for cabinet commissions and martial law orders, but meetings of the leaders had been held at his house and he had been in close touch with nearly every move of the royalists in their plans to overthrow the Republic. The evidence submitted by the prosecution was so complete, that, beyond the statement of Gulick the defense had very little to offer. As in the previous cases, the plea of the defense was for clemency.

The Judge-Advocate in his closing arguments on the case, drew attention to the manner in which these men of intelligence had pushed the ignorant native into the brunt of the fight, having been careful to screen their own connection with the affair in case of the failure of the natives, but ready at the first evidence of success to come to the front and claim the glory. As for the sympathy of the accused for the natives, the Judge Advocate held that if their sympathy had led them to put fire brands in the hands of the natives it should have led them to go to the

field and exercise a controlling hand. "Carter lost his life through the lack of control of the natives; certainly these leaders should have thought of the women or children in the town who would be exposed to the same danger. There was nothing manly, nothing patriotic, except possibly among the natives who went blindly to the front. The criminal act of the accused was worse than that of pirates, as they were not on the pirate deck."

On the afternoon of the 23d of January, the first lot of natives, twelve in number, captured in the field was brought before the court on the charge of treason. The principal defense of these men as well as the majority of the rank and file of the insurgents who were brought before the court later, was that they had been forced into the fight by the foreign and half white leaders. While it is true that they were willing participants and were possibly inspired by a feeling of loyalty to the ex-Queen, had they been less under the influence of liquor, better aware of the enormity of the crime committed and the punishment to which they were liable on account of their action, it is highly probable that they would have withheld from joining the insurgent forces. The trials of the natives were slow and tedious, nearly every prisoner being enthused with a desire to question witnesses and make lengthy statements of their connection with the uprising. A second lot of thirteen natives was brought into court on the evening of Thursday the 24th, their trial continuing through the week.

The first man to be placed on trial for Misprison of Treason

was John F. Bowler, a contractor and builder of Honolulu, who has always been quite prominent in politics. Counsel Neumann at the opening of this case made a strong fight against the jurisdiction of the Court, additional objections to those presented at previous trials being offered as follows:

First.—That there is no actual state of war in the country.

Second.—That the proclamation of martial law does not authorize the trial of any person by a Military Commission, or a Court Martial, unless he is a member of the Military or Navy of this country or, if actual war exists, that he has committed an offense against the laws of war.

Third.—The crime of which the prisoner is accused is Misprison of Treason, a statutory crime which, by its definition under the law, is not an offense against the laws of war.

Fourth.—That under the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Hawaii the prisoner is entitled to a trial by jury upon information, indictment and complaint, except in cases of impeachment.

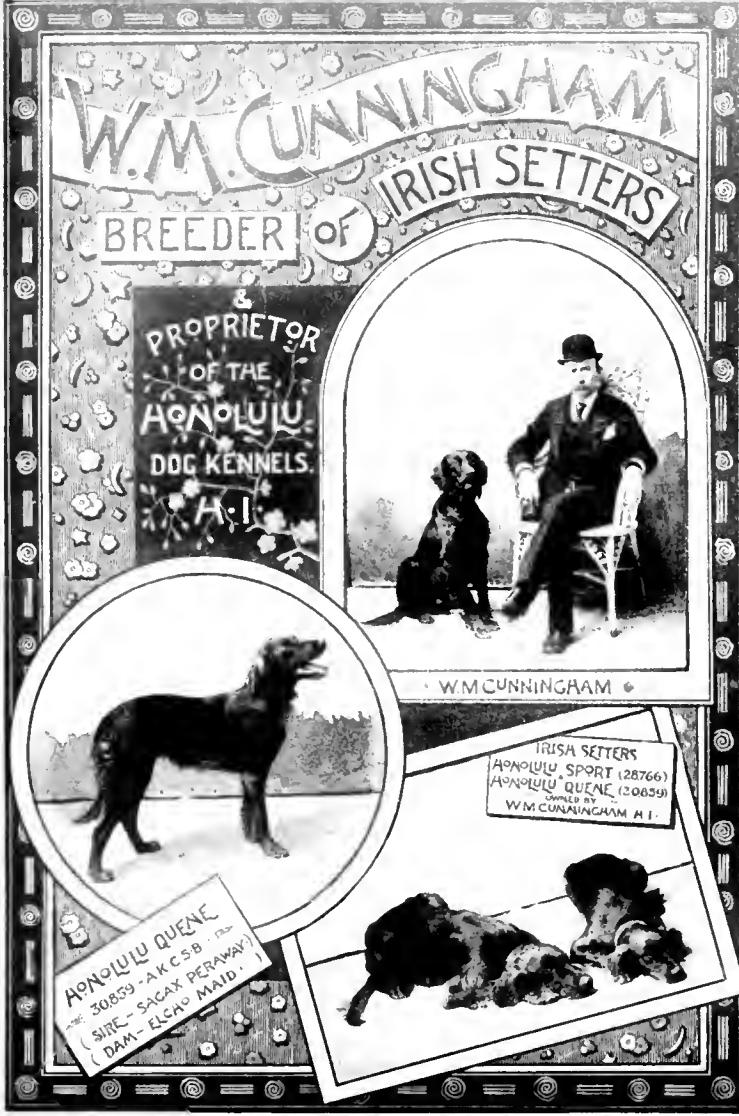
Judge-Advocate Kinney marked the usage of martial law as different times as follows:

First.—"The law martial exercised by the constable and marshal over troops in active service."

Second.—"The same system in time of peace or emergency and especially for punishment for the breaches of the peace."

Third.—"For the government of standing armies under the Mutiny Act and the Army Discipline Act."

Fourth.—"The common law right of the crown and its repre-





sentatives to repel force by force in case of rebellion or insurrection and to act against rebels as it might against invaders."

This trial and those for Misprison of Treason that were to follow came more correctly under the second definition. "Under the Constitution of Hawaii the President may not only suspend the writ of habeas corpus; he may not only declare martial law; he may place the whole or any part of the Republic under martial law; not only in case of rebellion or insurrection, but when there is imminent danger of rebellion or insurrection and the public safety requires. He may not only use the military force to suppress an insurrection and during its actual continuance; he may use military force and martial law for the prevention of any recurrence or repetition of an insurrection, that is to say, while there is "imminent danger" of it, and if he may govern the country under such circumstances by martial law for any purpose, he may do so for all purposes.

"The Hawaiian law, unlike English and American law, authorizes the establishment and continuance of martial law in time of peace as well as war. It may be, also, that the prisoner has, by his crime, made himself liable before the Civil Courts of the country if they were now performing their functions in cases of this nature. There is no inconsistency in the same conduct being punishable as well by municipal as by martial law, or in the same act, being criminal, as well by municipal as by martial law. Today each and every provision of the Constitution of Hawaii which conflicts with martial law is superseded by

the martial law, which is supreme today. The mere suspension of the writ of habeas corpus might, perhaps, imply that the civil processes would subsequently apply in any case not strictly a war case; but the Hawaiian Constitution goes further than to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and makes martial law, and nothing but martial law, now supreme upon the island of Hawaii today."

Mr. Kinney closed by stating that it was due only to a rule of law that Bowler was not charged with treason.

The Commission overruled the objections to its jurisdiction in this as in the preceding cases.

The evidence brought out in the two days' trial showed that Bowler had been aware of the plot of the insurgents, and to him had been delegated the capture of the telephone offices. The non-arrival in the city of Nowlein's forces was apparently all that prevented his taking an active part in the fighting. Bowler, however, made a statement asserting his innocence and ignorance of all plans and intentions of the insurgents.

On the afternoon of January 29, the trial of Volney V. Ashford for Misprison of Treason was opened. Outside the trial of the ex-Queen this was one of the hardest fought legal battles of the trials. The defense endeavored to break down the evidence of Samuel Nowlein who, it was understood, was to be one of the principal witnesses against Liliuokalani. All attempts in this direction were futile, however, it being shown that Ashford had acted as one of Nowlein's advisors and was conversant of the proposed outbreak. V. V. Ashford had always been active in

polities, and with his brother C. W. Ashford, was always known as a rebellious spirit. He had been prominent in military circles during the reign of the Monarchy, and at one time was forced to leave the country for his participation in political plottings. After the overthrow he returned and immediately became affiliated with the royalist cause.

The most prominent persons brought before the Court from this on were ex-Queen Liliuokalani and Jonah Kalanianaole commonly known as "Prince Cupid." Their trial will be dealt with more fully in succeeding chapters. Outside these the time of the Commission was taken up principally with the trial of natives who had been connected with the affair, either as active participants in the field or guards and messengers during and previous to the outbreak.

The trial of the last case brought before the Commission ended March 1. The Commission did not adjourn *sine die*, however, until March 18, when all the men against whom the government held serious charges had left the country, and many who had been imprisoned during the outbreak were released.

During its session of thirty-six days, 191 prisoners were brought before the Commission. Of the 176 prisoners charged with treason five were acquitted, and in the cases of sixty-four, notably the natives on guard at Washington Place and witnesses who turned States evidence, sentence was suspended. Only two of the fifteen charged with misprison of treason were acquitted.

The first of the sentences were made public on February 12, when a number of natives found guilty of treason were sentenced to five years imprisonment at hard labor. A few days latter followed the sentences of Volney V. Ashford and John F. Bowler, convicted of misprison of treason, Ashford being sentenced to one year's imprisonment with \$1000 fine, and Bowler to five years' imprisonment and \$5000 fine. On Saturday, February 23, the sentences of the leaders were published as follows: Charles T. Gulick, W. H. Seward, Robert Wilcox, Samuel Nowlein and Henry Bertlemann, each thirty-five years' imprisonment at hard labor, with a fine of \$10,000. The Military Commission had sentenced these men to suffer the death penalty, which sentence was commuted by the President as above. Sentences were suspended in the cases of Nowlein and Bertlemann, they having given important evidence. The other leaders sentenced were: T. B. Walker, thirty years and \$5000 fine; Carl Widemann, thirty years and \$10,000 fine; W. H. C. Greig, twenty years and \$10,000 fine; Louis Marshall, twenty years and \$10,000 fine. The ex-Queen was sentenced to five years' imprisonment with \$5000 fine and Jonah Kalanianaole, commonly known as "Prince Cupid" to one year with \$1,000 fine. J. A. Cummins received the same sentence as ex-Queen Liliuokalani but was released on payment of fine. The sentences of the others who were mostly natives and half castes, ranged all the way from five months to five years imprisonment, the fine, as a rule, being stricken out by the President.

CHAPTER III.

ABDICTION AND TRIAL OF LILIUOKALANI.

When it became apparent that all hopes of the restoration of ex-Queen Liliuokalani had been irretrievably blighted, it became generally rumored that the ex-Regent was prepared to make a formal abdication of her claims as the only lawful ruler of the people of Hawaii—a claim to which she had adhered most tenaciously from the day of the overthrow. During her detention in the Executive Building she was in constant touch with her friends and advisers, through her agent Charles B. Wilson, who was allowed free access to her apartments by the military authorities.

On the afternoon of January 24th, the members of the Cabinet were informed that the ex-Queen had an official document which it was desired should be presented to the Executive. They signified their willingness to listen to any communication which the now military prisoner might submit. During the latter part of the day a copy of the following correspondence was put in the hands of Attorney-General Smith. The letter was drawn by Judge A. S. Hartwell who had been consulted by Messrs. Wilson, Parker and Neumann regarding the matter, and acted as advising counsel for them. Judge Hartwell also attended the execution of the document:

ISLAND OF OAHU,
HONOLULU, Jan. 24, 1895. }

To THE HON. SANFORD BALLARD DOLE, President of the Republic of Hawaii:

SIR:—After full and free consultation with my personal friends and with my legal advisors, both before and since my

detention by military order in the Executive building, and acting in conformity with their advice, and also upon my own free volition, and in pursuance of my unalterable belief and understanding of my duty to the people of Hawaii, and to their highest and best interests, and also for the sake of those misguided Hawaiians and others who have recently engaged in rebellion against the Republic, and in an attempt to restore me to the position of queen, which I held prior to the 17th day of January, A. D. 1893, and without any claim that shall become entitled, by reason of anything that I may now say or do, to any other or different treatment or consideration at the hands of the Government than I otherwise could and might legally receive, I now desire to express and make known, and do hereby express and make known, to yourself, as the only lawful and recognized head of the Government, and to all the people of the Hawaiian Islands, whether or not they have yet become citizens of the Republic, or are or have been adherents of the late monarchy, and also to all diplomatic and other foreign representatives in the Hawaiian Islands, to all of whom I respectfully request you to cause this statement and action of mine to be made known as soon as may be, as follows, namely :

First. In order to avoid any possibility of doubt or misunderstanding although I do not think that any doubt or misunderstanding is either proper or possible, I hereby do fully and unequivocally admit and declare that the Government of the Republic of Hawaii is the only lawful Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and that the late Hawaiian monarchy is finally

and forever ended, and no longer of any legal or actual validity, force or effect whatsoever; and I do hereby forever absolve all persons whomsoever, whether in the Hawaiian Islands or elsewhere, from all and every manner of allegiance, or official obligation or duty, to me and my heirs and successors forever, and I hereby declare to all such persons in the Hawaiian Islands that I consider them as bound in duty and honor henceforth to support and sustain the Government of the Republic of Hawaii.

Second. For myself, my heirs and successors, I do hereby and without any mental reservation or modification, and fully, finally, unequivocally, irrevocably, and forever abdicate, renounce and release unto the Government of the Republic of Hawaii and the legitimate successors forever all claims or pretensions whatsoever to the late throne of Hawaii, or to the late monarchy of Hawaii, or to any past, or to the existing, or to any future Government of Hawaii, or under or by reason of any present or formerly existing constitution, statute, law, position, right or claim of any and every kind, name or nature whatsoever, and whether the same consist of pecuniary or property considerations, or of personal status, hereby forever renouncing, disowning and disclaiming all rights, claims, demands, privileges, honors, emoluments, titles and prerogatives whatsoever, under or by virtue of any former, or the existing Government, constitution, statute, law or custom of the Hawaiian Islands whatsoever, save and excepting only such rights and privileges as belong to me in common with all private citizens of, or residents in the Republic of Hawaii.

Third. I do hereby respectfully implore for such misguided Hawaiians and others as have been concerned in the late rebellion against the Republic of Hawaii, such degree of executive clemency as the Government may deem to be consistent with its duty to the community, and such as a due regard for its violated laws may permit.

Fourth. It is my sincere desire henceforth to live in absolute privacy and retirement from all publicity, or even appearance of being concerned in the public affairs of the Hawaiian Islands, further than to express, as I now do and shall always continue to do, my most sincere hope for the welfare and prosperity of its people, under and subject to the Government of the Republic of Hawaii.

Fifth. I hereby offer and present my duly certified oath of allegiance to the Republic of Hawaii.

Sixth. I have caused the foregoing statement to be prepared and drawn, and have signed the same without having received the slightest suggestion from the President of Hawaii, or from any member of the Government of Hawaii, concerning the same or any part thereof, or concerning any action or course of my own in the premises.

Relying upon the magnanimity of the Government of the Republic, and upon its protection.

I have the honor to be, Mr. President,

Very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

LILIUOKALANI DOMINIS.



Davy Photo Poses



On the 24th day of January, A. D. 1895, the foregoing was in our presence read over and considered carefully and deliberately by Liliuokalani Dominis, and she, the said Liliuokalani Dominis, thereupon in our presence declared that the same was a correct, exact and full statement of her wishes and acts in the premises, which statement she declared to us that she desired to sign and acknowledge in our presence as her own free act and deed, and she thereupon signed the same in our presence, and declared the same to be her free act and deed, in witness whereof we have at the request of the said Liliuokalani Dominis, and in her presence, hereunto subscribed our names as attesting witnesses, at the Executive building, in Honolulu on the Island of Oahu, this 24th day of January, A. D. 1893.

(Signed),

W. M. IRWIN,
H. A. WIDEMANN,
SAMUEL PARKER,
J. KALUA KAHOOKANO,
C. B. WILSON,
PAUL NEUMANN.

HONOLULU,
ISLAND OF OAHU, } ss.

On this 24th day of January, A. D. 1895, personally appeared before me, LILIUOKALANI DOMINIS, known to me to be the person described in and who executed the foregoing instrument, who acknowledged to me that she executed the same freely and voluntarily and for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

{ NOTARIAL
SEAL. }

W. L. STANLEY,
Notary Public.

HONOLULU, ISLAND OF OAHU, } ss.
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, }

I, Liliuokalani Dominis, do solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God, that I will support the Constitution, Laws and Government of the Republic of Hawaii, and will not, either directly or indirectly, encourage or assist in the restoration or establishment of a monarchical form of government in the Hawaiian Islands. (Signed) W. L. STANLEY,
Notary Public.

The effect of this letter of abdication was not as sensational as might be anticipated at first thought. In fact the move came about two years too late to attract extraordinary attention. In the eyes of the Government, this lady was in much the same position as a private citizen who had communicated to them concerning a change of opinion in polities. With the people, her undoubted knowledge of the plot of the proposed revolution and her "abdication" being forthcoming only when she found herself hemmed in from every side, gave her scant sympathy, consequently this belated action did not inspire the confidence in the honest intention of the move which would have resulted, had it been made at an earlier day.

The Executive submitted the letter to the Advisory Councils and later made the following reply :

EXECUTIVE BUILDING, }
HONOLULU, January 29, 1895. }

MADAM:—A document executed by you purporting to contain an abdication and renunciation of all sovereign rights

heretofore claimed by you has been delivered on your behalf to the President.

As you were under arrest at the time this instrument was signed it is desired before accepting and placing the same on file, to make clear to you, in order that no misunderstanding may hereafter arise, the views of the Government in this matter:

1. The execution of this document cannot be taken to exempt you in the slightest degree from personal and individual liability for such complicity as due investigation and trial may show that you had in the late conspiracy against the Government and the consequent loss of life; which position is recognized by you in your letter.

2. It cannot be conceded that such rights and claims as you now voluntarily relinquish have had any legal existence since January 14, 1893, when by your public announcement that you no longer considered yourself bound by the fundamental law of the land under which you took office, and by your acts in attempting by the mere exercise of your own will to establish a new system of government, the contract existing between you and the people was dissolved, and all sovereign rights theretofore vested in you were lost. The statement by members of your then cabinet that they could not control your proposed action, and their appeal to citizens of Honolulu for assistance, was the next step which led to a resumption by the people of the rights of government.

3. So far as your communication may be taken as a notice

to the disaffected that it is your desire that the Republic shall be recognized by them as the sole and lawful government of the country, it is fully appreciated. In this connection your unselfish appeal for clemency for those who took part in the late insurrection will receive full consideration.

(Signed)

WILLIAM O. SMITH,

Attorney-General.

To MRS. LILIUOKALANI DOMINIS.

That there was a latent hope that the letter of abdication would influence the government to act with leniency toward the political offenders, and the ex-Queen in particular seems highly probable. Liliuokalani had, however, been given the opportunity to retire to private life and live quietly and comfortably among her people. This opportunity had been cast aside, and not until, balked on every hand in her attempts to regain her throne, did she come to realize how sweet was the freedom which she had forfeited.

Whatever hope may have existed in her mind was ill-founded, however. On Tuesday, February 5th, Liliuokalani Dominis was brought before the Military Commission charged with mis-prison of treason. The trial which occupied the greater part of four days was marked by sharp legal sparring and a flood of objections from the attorney for the defense. Among the principal witnesses against the ex-Queen were Samuel Nowlein and Charles Clark, both of whom had been "hangers on" about Washington Place since 1893, also William Kaae, who had acted as private secretary to Liliuokalani. Nowlein testified to

having had charge of the arms and dynamite bombs and making arrangements to station guards about the place on the night of the outbreak. Clark had been in charge of the place during Nowlein's absence and informed Liliuokalani of the progress of the movements in the city. Kaae, the private secretary, testified to having drawn up the Commissions for the Cabinet officers of the new government, as follows :

R. W. WILCOX, Minister Foreign Affairs.

SAM NOWLEIN, Minister of Interior.

CHARLES T. GULICK, Minister of Finance.

C. W. ASHFORD, Attorney-General.

ANTONE ROSA and V. V. ASHFORD, Associate Justices.

GOVERNORS.

A. S. CLEGHORN, Oahu. JOSEPH NAWAHII, Hawaii.

D. KAWANANAKOA, Maui. J. KALANIANAOLE, Kauai.

W. H. RICKARD, Marshal.

That these Commissions were signed by the ex-Queen was further proven by the entry in her private diary December 28th : "Signed eleven Commissions today." Kaae had written out the forms for the Commissions, proclamations and the new Constitution, under the direction of C. T. Gulick and the ex-Queen. On Thursday, the third day of the trial, the defense submitted the following statement notwithstanding Liliuokalani had gone on the stand and made denial of any knowledge whatsoever of an attempt to restore her to the throne. The statement was inspired by her legal adviser and was un-

doubtedly prepared with a view to strengthening the ex-Queen's case, not so much with the Military Commission as with the people abroad. Among her own people this statement tended to wipe out what conciliatory feeling her formal abdication may have engendered. The statement is given in full : "In the year 1893, on the 15th day of January, at the request of a large majority of the Hawaiian people, and by and with the advice and consent of my Cabinet, I proposed to make certain changes in the Hawaiian Kingdom, which were suggested to me as being for the advantage and benefit of the Kingdom and subjects and residents thereof. These proposed changes did not deprive foreigners of any rights or privileges enjoyed by them under the Constitution of 1887, promulgated by King Kalakaua and his Cabinet, without the consent of the people or ratified by their votes.

"My Ministers at the last moment changed their views and requested me to defer all action in connection to the Constitution, and I yielded to their advice as bound to do by the existing Constitution and Laws.

"A minority of the foreign population made my action the pretext for overthrowing the Monarchy, and aided by the United States Naval forces and representative established a new government.

"I owed no allegiance to the Provisional Government so established, nor to any power or to any one save the will of my people and the welfare of my country.

"The wishes of my people were not consulted as to this

change of government, and only those who were in practical rebellion against the Constitutional Government were allowed to vote upon the question whether the Monarchy should exist or not.

"To prevent the shedding of blood of my people, natives and foreigners alike, I opposed armed interference and quietly yielded to the armed forces brought against my throne, and submitted to the arbitrament of the Government of the United States the decision of my rights and those of the Hawaiian people. Since then, as is well known to all, I have pursued the path of peace and diplomatic discretion, and not that of internal strife.

"The United States having first interfered in the interest of those founding the Government of 1893 upon the basis of revolution, concluded to leave to the Hawaiian people the selection of their own form of government.

"This selection was anticipated and prevented by the Provisional Government, who, being possessed of the military and police power of the Kingdom, so cramped the electoral privileges that no free expression of their will was permitted to the people who were opposed to them.

"By my command and advice the native people and those in sympathy with them were restrained from rising against the government in power. The movement undertaken by the Hawaiians last month was absolutely commenced without my knowledge, sanction, consent or assistance, directly or indirectly, and this fact is in truth well known to those who took

part in it. I received no information from any one in regard to arms which were procured or which were to be procured, nor of any men who were induced, or to be induced to join in any such uprising. I do not know why this information should have been withheld from me, unless it was with a view to my personal safety or as a precautionary measure. It would not have received my sanction, and I can assure the gentlemen of this Commission that, had I known of any such intention, I would have dissuaded the promoters from such a venture. But I will add, that had I known, their secrets would have been mine and inviolately preserved.

"That I intended to change my Cabinet and appoint certain officers of the Kingdom, in the event of my restoration, I will admit; but that I, or any one known to me, had, in part or in whole, established a new government is not true. Before the 24th of January, 1895, the day upon which I formally abdicated and called upon my people to recognize the Republic of Hawaii as the only lawful Government of these Islands, and to support that Government, I claim that I had a right to select a Cabinet in anticipation of a possibility, and history of other governments support this right. I was not intimidated into abdication, but followed the counsel of able and generous friends and well-wishers who advised me that such an act would restore peace and good will among my people; vitalize the progress and prosperity of the Islands and induce the actual Government to deal leniently, mercifully and charitably, impersonately with those who resorted to arms for the purpose of dis-

placing a government in the formation of which they had no voice or control ; and which they themselves had seen established by force of arms.

" I acted of my own free will and wish the world to know that I have asked no immunity of favor myself nor pleaded my abdication as a petition for mercy. My actions were dictated by the sole aim of doing good to my beloved country, and of alleviating the positions and pains of those who unhappily and unwisely resorted to arms to regain an independence, which they thought had been unjustly wrested from them.

" As you deal with them, so I pray that the Almighty God may deal with you in your hours of trial. To my regret much has been said about the danger which threatened foreign women, and children, and about the blood-thirstiness of the Hawaiians and the outrages which would have been perpetrated by them if they had succeeded in their attempt to overthrow the Republic Government.

" They, who know the Hawaiian temper and disposition, understand that there was no foundation for any such fears. The behavior of the rebels to those foreigners whom they captured and held shows that there was no malignancy in the hearts of the Hawaiians at all. It would have been sad indeed if the doctrine of the Christian Missionary Fathers, taught to my people by them and those who succeeded them, should have fallen like the seed in the parable upon barren ground.

" I must deny your right to try me in the manner and by the Court which you have called together for this purpose. In

your actions you violate your own Constitution and laws, which are now the Constitution and laws of the land. There may be in your consciences a warrant for your action, in what you may deem a necessity of the times, but you cannot find any such warrant for any such action in any settled, civilized or Christian land. All who uphold you in this unlawful proceeding may scorn and despise my word, but the offense of breaking and setting aside for a specific purpose the laws of your own nation and disregarding all justice and fairness may be to them and to you the source of an unhappy and much to be regretted legacy.

" I would ask you to consider that your government is on trial before the whole civilized world, and that in accordance with your actions and decisions will you yourselves be judged. The happiness and prosperity of Hawaii are henceforth in your hands alone as its rulers. You are commencing a new era in its history. May the Divine Providence grant you the wisdom to lead the nation into paths of forbearance, forgiveness and peace, and to create and consolidate a united people ever anxious to advance in the way of civilization outlined by the American fathers of liberty and religion.

" In concluding my statement I thank you for the courtesy you have shown to me, not as your former Queen, but as an humble citizen of this land and as a woman. I assure you, who faithfully believe that you are fulfilling a public duty, that I will never harbor any resentment or cherish any ill feeling towards you whatever may be your decision."

At the opening of the trial on Friday morning, Counsel Newmann was informed by the Commission that the following portions of his client's statement must be stricken out:

"A minority of the foreign population made my action the pretext for overthrowing the monarchy, and, aided by the United States naval forces and representative established a new government."

"I owed no allegiance to the Provisional Government so established, nor to any power, or to anyone save the will of my people and the welfare of my country."

"And only those who were in practical rebellion against the constitutional government."

"All who uphold you in this unlawful proceeding may scorn and despise my word; but the offense of breaking and setting aside for a specific purpose the laws of your own nation, and disregarding all justice and fairness, may be to them and to you the source of an unhappy and much to be regretted legacy."

"The United States having first interfered in the interest of those founding the government of 1893 upon the basis of revolution concluded to leave to the Hawaiian people the selection of their own form of government."

"This selection was anticipated and prevented by the Provisional Government, who, being possessed of the military and police power of the kingdom, so cramped the electoral privileges that no free expression of their will was permitted to the people who were opposed to them."

Objection was made, and overruled, to any section being

stricken out without rejecting the whole statement. The arguments of the counsel for defense and the Judge-Advocate occupied the greater part of the closing day of the trial. The argument of Captain Kinney was one of the master efforts of the trial, in which the fallacies of the ex-Queen's statement were pointed out and the evidence of a desire to create sympathy, on account of alleged injuries, not only among her own people but among the citizens of foreign countries. The trial closed on the afternoon of February 7th, and the ex-Queen was returned to her apartments in the Executive building where she remained under military guard until allowed to return to her Washington Place residence on parole pardon.

CHAPTER IV.

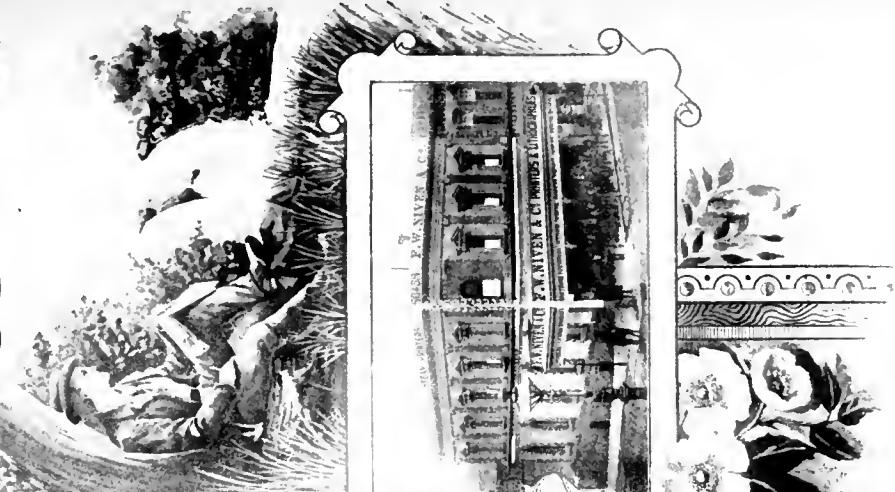
LANDING ARMS AND GENERAL SCHEME OF REBEL PLOT.

On December 3d, 1894, Major Wm. H. Seward returned from San Francisco where he had arranged for the purchase of the arms for the revolutionists and their shipment to the Islands on the schooner H. C. Wahlberg Capt. Mathew Martin commanding. Where the funds for the purchase of the arms came from was not brought out during the trials. It is highly probable that the money was obtained by an assessment on the members of the royalist party who were either directly or indirectly interested in the success of the revolt.

Immediately after the arrival of Seward arrangements were

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made to receive and conceal the arms until they could be distributed among the natives. The men picked to take charge of the natives employed in this work were George Townsend and Charlie Warren a native. These men were stationed on the windward side of the island near Makapuu point. The schooner was sighted on December 19th, and after landing the revolvers and a portion of the ammunition on Rabbit island, again put to sea, where the remainder of the munitions of war were to be transferred to the steamer Waimanalo, Capt. Davis commanding, and brought into the harbor of Honolulu. The revolvers were burried in the sands on Rabbit island and later brought to Honolulu by natives and distributed among those who were to take part in the uprising.

Captain Davis was engaged by W. H. Rickard and was promised a reward of \$10,000, if the arms were successfully landed. The transfer of rifles and ammunition from the schooner to the Waimanalo was made on New Years day some twenty miles off Rabbit island. After going to the island to give notice that the arms had been secured, the steamer put to sea, and arrived off Diamond Head on the evening of the second of January. W. H. Rickard went on board, and the steamer again put to sea, it being the intention to land the arms at points along the water front of Honolulu and begin the fight on the night of January 3d. Arriving again off Diamond Head, the evening of the third, word was sent to the steamer that the men gathered at Kakaako to receive the arms had been discovered and the steamer cargo must be landed near Diamond

Head. This was accordingly done, and the arms buried in the sand on the beach beyond Diamond Head.

The original plan of attack was for the arms to be landed at Kakaako, and at the fish market both places being on the city water front. The fighting was to begin immediately. White men in the city were to lead the natives, capture the station house, electric light station and telephone offices, establish posts at the junction of the streets and prevent the Citizens Guard and members of the volunteer companies from reaching their places of rendezvous. The landing on the water front having been prevented, the time for the attack was set for 2 o'clock Monday morning, January 7th.

Nowlein was to march upon the city from Waikiki; simultaneously with his movement, bands of natives led by whites were to come in from other points in the outskirts, and these parties were to be joined by natives and white royalists living in the city, and combine in a general assault upon the Government building. The surprise of Sunday night had of course disconcerted the leaders. The white royalists who were to have joined in the fight kept as quiet as possible, and made every attempt to clear their skirts of any semblance of having been associated with the affair in any way. The freedom with which liquor was dealt out to the natives, the lack of anything approaching organization in their ranks, the proposed use of dynamite bombs, and the ignorance of the natives of the use of fire arms all went to prove that, had the rebels reached the city before the government forces were able to rendezvous the morning of

January 7th, 1895, would have been characterized indiscriminate slaughter in the streets of Honolulu.

CHAPTER V.

FORCIBLE AND VOLUNTARY DEPORTATION OF EXILES.

In the forcible deportation of J. Cranstoun, A. E. Mueller and J. B. Johnstone on Saturday, February 2nd, the Government made an arbitrary move which met with considerable adverse criticism, not because it was believed that the character of the men did not justify the act, but rather on account of the danger of serious diplomatic complications arising from the expulsion from the country without trial. The three men had been arrested during the early days of the outbreak for being parties to the plan to destroy public buildings with dynamite. Johnstone had been in the employ of the Government as a detective, at the same time being hand in glove with those interested in upsetting the Republic. None of the men held any considerable amount of a property and might well be classed in the floating population of the country. On Friday these prisoners were removed from the prison to the station house, and about noon Saturday they were put on board the steamer Warrimoo of the Canadian Australian line. All three protested against their treatment and asked to see their national representatives. Johnstone was of English birth, Mueller, German, and Craustoun claimed to be an American citizen by naturali-

zation. The American Minister strove to impress upon the Government officials that they were making a great mistake by their arbitrary action but under advice of their foreign representatives, the German and Englishmen were inclined to accept the inevitable. The officers of the Government remained firm and having put the men on the steamer kept them there guarded by police until the vessel was well outside the harbor. On arrival in British Columbia, the exiles brought suit for damages against the steamship line for conveying them out of the country. The cases of Cranstoun and Mueller are now going through the usual processes of law in the court of Victoria, B. C. Johnstone's claim has been withdrawn to await the verdict of the court in the cases of his brother exiles. Claims for damages were also filed with the home Governments, but none of the latter claims have been pressed up to the present time.

The position of the Hawaiian Government in the deportation of Cranstoun, Mueller and Johnstone is defined as follows in a memorandum of the law, given by General A. S. Hartwell to William A. Kinney who was retained as counsel by the Government:

In re Cranstoun, Muller and Johnstone, exiled from the Hawaiian Islands by order of President Dole, acting as Commander-in-chief of the national forces of Hawaii, during the prevalence of martial law upon the Island of Oahu of the Republic of Hawaii upon suspicion based upon facts known to the Hawaiian Government, that they were persons dangerous to the community, and implicated in the rebellion against the Government.

"The facts on which these persons were considered to be dangerous persons and implicated in the rebellion, can be shown by affidavits. Such showing removes all doubt that their expulsion from the Hawaiian Islands was based upon public reasons and not from any malicious motives.

"The position and claim of the Hawaiian Government is that there is no treaty obligation precluding the expulsion from the country of any persons of any nationality, whenever martial law is in force, and in the opinion of the Government such persons have violated the laws of the Republic, or have become implicated in any plot, conspiracy or treason against the Government.

"The Government, in order to exercise its rights under martial law and protect the community in times of actual rebellion, is not required to try and condemn such persons prior to their expulsion, but is the sole judge, not only of the necessity or propriety of declaring martial law, and placing the country or any part of it under martial law, but of the course to be taken in respect of persons who in its opinion are unsafe persons to be allowed to remain within the country."

VOLUNTARY EXILES.

When the Military Commission had completed the trial of the more prominent participants in the rebellion, the desire of many citizens of the Republic to have severe punishment meted out to each and every prisoner began to cool. Those who were

calling for the lives of the rebels at the outset were quite satisfied with deportation, light imprisonment or unrestricted release of those remaining. Rather than continue the trials until all those in prison had been dealt with, the Government gave many of the prisoners the option of leaving the country or going before the Commission. Most of those remaining were white residents to whom the prison life was, naturally enough, decidedly distasteful. They were totally in the dark as to the evidence which the Government could bring in at the trial, and rather than run the chances of continued imprisonment a good proportion were glad to escape by leaving the country. Each one accepting this option signed a statement similar to the following, which act, British Commissioner Hawes stated to the English subjects in the presence of the Marshal, "was a practical admission of guilt:"

"Whereas, I,....., am now held in confinement for complicity in the recent insurrection against the Hawaiian Government, and have expressed a desire to leave the country not to return, provided said Government shall in its clemency consent to such expatriation, now, therefore I, the said....., in consideration of the Hawaiian Government, immediately upon being released, it being understood and agreed by me that said charge is no wise withdrawn nor in any sense discontinued, do hereby agree that when allowed to leave the custody of the Marshal, I shall and will leave the Hawaiian Islands by theleaving Honolulu for.....February...., 1895, and will not return during my life time without the written consent of the Minister of Foreign Affairs or other officer having charge of said department, approved by the Marshal."

The men who took this option were as follows : L. J. Levey, Fred. Harrison, George Ritman, John C. White, P. M. Rooney, Fred. H. Redward, Frank Honeck, Charles Creighton, Arthur

White, Arthur McDowell, A. Carriane, Fred. W. Wundenburg, Michael Cole Bailey, C. W. Ashford, C. Klemme, Harry von Werthern, John Radin, James Brown, A. P. Peterson, P. G. Camarinos and Nichols Peterson. These men were released about a week before their departure so as to give them an opportunity to put their business affairs in order. The first lot of eleven went to San Francisco on the steamer *Australia*, February 23, and the others followed during the next month, with the exception of one or two whose homes were in Australia.

Later in the year V. V. Ashford, Louis Marshal and W. H. C. Greig who had been sentenced by the military court were released from prison on condition that they leave the country. With the exception of these three together with C. W. Ashford, Cranstoun, Mueller and Johnstone, all those deported were granted leave to return to the country before the end of the year.

CHAPTER VI.

PARDON OF PRISONERS.

It was hardly two months after the Military Commission held its final session when a movement was set on foot to influence the President and his advisers to exercise their prerogative and grant pardons to the political prisoners. The plea was first made by former royalist leaders and, in consequence of the apparent disposition of former enemies of the

Government to accept the political situation, received not a little support from many who had stood by the Republic from its inception. It was also argued that such a course would conciliate the native population, and create a more united people.

The quiet condition of the community lent force to the plea for clemency and on the Fourth of July, 1895, almost six months after the fight in which Charles Carter was killed, forty-five of the "rank and file" of the natives incarcerated in consequence of their connection with the rebellion, were granted conditional pardons. Each and every pardon contained the following provisions: "Such sentence is suspended, and the said may go at large, subject to remand upon the order of the President."

On the same day the sentences of the leaders were commuted as follows: W. H. C. Greig, from twenty to fifteen years; T. B. Walker, thirty to fifteen years; Carl Widemann, thirty to fifteen years; Louis Marshall, twenty to fifteen years; W. H. Seward, thirty to twenty years; W. H. Rickard, thirty to twenty years; R. W. Wilcox, thirty to twenty years; and C. T. Gulick, thirty to twenty years.

In granting these pardons members of the Executive endeavored to impress upon those who had been released that upon their good behavior after obtaining their liberty depended the attitude of the Government toward the leaders of the revolt, who remained in prison.

It was not many weeks after this first act of clemency that the advocates of general pardon began to make themselves heard. The effect abroad, the strength of the Republic, its ability to maintain itself against all foes, and the conciliatory effect of such a move were the leading arguments presented. Those who opposed the general pardon held that such a move would be a practical admission that the insurrection itself, the "war" for its suppression, the lengthy continuance of martial law, the extended sessions of the military court with its extreme sentences were all in the nature of a farce and would place the officers of the Government as the leading lights in an opera bouffe.

In the face of arguments pro and con the Government held to its original policy of granting conditional pardons according as the peaceful condition of the country gave evidence that political leaders had deserted the policy of attempting to gain their ends by force of arms. Accordingly on the 5th of September the President and Cabinet went before the Council of State with the recommendation that conditional pardons be granted ex-Queen Liliuokalani, Carl Widemann, Prince "Cupid" and forty-six others. The recommendation received the sanction of the Council of State, and on Friday, September 7th, the prisoners named were released. In releasing the ex-Queen the Government made the extra condition that she reside at Washington Place and not change her residence without permission from the Government; also

that she attend no political gatherings nor hold political meetings at her house. Some months later the Government gave the ex-Queen permission to reside anywhere on the Island of Oahu that suited her pleasure.

As Thanksgiving Day approached the friends of the remaining prisoners renewed their efforts to secure the release of the leaders who of all those sentenced by the Military Commission were the only ones remaining within the prison walls. Petitions for pardons signed by Hawaiians and foreigners were placed before the President and letters were received from the men in prison in which they admitted their connection with the rebellion, expressed regret for their political mistakes and signified their willingness to take the oath to the Republic, and be numbered among its supporters. The petitions with the recommendations of the Executive were placed before the Council of State and as a result, on the 28th of November W. H. Rickard, T. B. Walker, and five natives were released from prison upon the same conditions as previous pardons had been granted. There now remained in prison but eight of the men who took part, directly or otherwise, in the revolt. Among this number were R. W. Wilcox, C. T. Gulick, W. H. Seward and J. F. Bowler.

After having released men quite as seriously implicated in the revolt as those who remained in prison, the people of the country were unanimously in favor of the Government making a clean sweep and allowing all the prisoners to go

free. The Executive waited, however, until January 1, 1896, when the last prisoners, leaders and all, who had been sentenced by the Military Court were released from prison and allowed to go and come at their pleasure within the country, provided they kept free from political alliances made with a view to attempting the overthrow of the established Government.

This magnanimous policy of the Government toward its former enemies was generally applauded abroad and was received with more or less favor at home, although many of the stanch supporters of the Government believed it the final act of placing the stamp of farcical procedure upon the work of the Military Commission. As to the good or evil effects of the action of the Government upon the peculiar political conditions of Hawaii, time alone will demonstrate. If void of any other results, this action and the fact that it was sanctioned by a good proportion of the men who shouldered guns in support of the Government, shows with what readiness the people of Hawaii forget political differences even though those differences call for the defense of principle by resort to armed force.

CHAPTER VII.

DIPLOMATIC COMPLICATIONS.

Immediately the Military Court closed its sessions, the for-

eigners who had been arrested during martial law began to lay plans for obtaining indemnity for what they considered unjust imprisonment. Some of these men had been sentenced by the court but the larger proportion of claimants was among those who had accepted the option of leaving the country and still others who had been arrested during the early days of the revolt and detained in prison until the excited condition of the community had subsided.

The enemies of the Government were quite jubilant over the prospect for a time as it was believed that these claims would result in serious diplomatic complications and condemning the action of the Republic by foreign powers.

The first claims to be heard from by the Government were those of W. H. Rickard and T. B. Walker. These men, of British birth, gave affidavits that they had not become naturalized citizens of Hawaii notwithstanding they had exercised full rights of citizenship and held public office under the monarchy. This claim was regarded by Hawaiian officials as preposterous and upon searching the records it was found that both Walker and Rickard had taken out Hawaiian letters of naturalization. These facts were placed before the British Government and early in August British Commissioner Hawes informed Minister Hatch that the British Government recognized the claim of the Republic as to the citizenship of Rickard and Walker, hence the British Government had no interest in them.

At the request of the British Commissioner his Government had been supplied with the evidence taken at the military trials. Early in August another request was made calling upon the Hawaiian Government to set aside the verdict of the Military Court in the case of V. V. Ashford. The British Government admitted the validity of the court, also that the trials were conducted in an impartial manner. It was held, however, that Mr. Ashford had been convicted upon the evidence of an accomplice, hence the request. The Hawaiian Government took the matter under advisement and up to July 1, 1896, it was still a subject for diplomatic correspondence.

Of those claiming the protection of the British Government who did not appear before the Military Court the following have presented claims that have been brought to the attention of the Hawaiian Government: C. W. Ashford, Fred Harrison, G. Carson Kenyon, Lewis J. Levey, A. McDowall, F. H. Redward, W. J. Reynolds, T. W. Rawlins, E. B. Thomas, M. C. Bailey, and Charles E. Dunwell. Of other nationalities, George Lycurgus and P. G. Camarinos, citizens of Greece, Edmund Norrie, a Dane, Manoel Gil dos Reis, Portuguese. James Durrell and George L. Ritman, Jr., Americans, have lodged claims for indemnity. The demands of the Grecian Government have been made through Great Britain.

The first case to be urged by the United States was that of James Durrell, an American negro who had been arrested

for endeavoring to incite Portuguese to join the ranks of the insurgents. As a result of Durrell's application to his Government the following extraordinary communication was received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Legation of the United States,
Honolulu, July 21, 1895.

HON. F. M. HATCH,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Sir:—I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of the affidavit of James Durrell, from which it appears Durrell was born in the State of Louisiana in 1858, and resided in the United States until September, 1894. He then came to this city and obtained temporary employment as a cook at the Arlington Hotel. On November 8, 1894, he purchased the lease and good-will of a cigar store, soda water and fruit stand, and gradually built up a lucrative business. On the 9th of January last, while quietly seated in his store, he was arrested without explanation or information of any charge against him, confined in jail on common prison fare until the 27th of February following, a period of seven weeks, and then discharged without any trial, charges, explanation or opportunity of defense; nor has he, since his release, been informed of the cause of his arrest.

He declares that he has never by word or deed forfeited his allegiance to or right of protection by his government; that he has neither done nor spoken anything directly or indirectly

against the Government of Hawaii or its laws; that he has never expressed sentiments antagonistic to that Government, or in any manner connelled, encouraged, aided or abetted its enemies, either in armed rebellion or secret plotting; and that he never possessed any information which under existing laws it was his duty to report to your Government.

These statements establish, in the opinion of the President of the United States, a *prima facie* claim for substantial indemnity from the Hawaiian Government to Mr. Darrell. I am instructed, therefore, to bring this case to the attention of the Hawaiian authorities, leaving no doubt in their minds of the confidence felt in Washington "that the Government of Hawaii will not refuse to tender adequate reparation to this injured citizen of the United States, nor hesitate to take prompt measures to exonerate him from the imputation which this arbitrary treatment has left upon his good name."

With sentiments of high esteem,

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

ALBERT S. WILLIS,
E. E. & M. P., U. S. A.

The general tenor of this letter, the demand being made before a statement from the Hawaiian Government had been obtained was regarded by the people at large as another evidence of President Cleveland's wholesome dislike for the Republic. The Government, however, took the matter under

advise, made a thorough investigation in order to ascertain the strength of the "*prima facie* claim" and the case is still the subject of diplomatic correspondence. In fact the evidence taken by the Government in all the cases against those who lodged claims, has been forwarded to the respective governments that have taken up the cause of their injured citizens.

Further evidence of the apparently unfriendly attitude of the United States was found in the release of the schooner Wahlberg, by order of the Secretary of State. The Hawaiian Government held that the act of this American ship conveying the arms to Hawaii for the overthrow of the Republic, was in direct violation of neutrality laws. The American Government took no notice of the claim and released the captain and his ship from custody, notwithstanding the Hawaiian Government had sent an attorney and witnesses to San Diego to aid the prosecution of the case.

Great Britain has pursued a less abrupt course, except possibly in the claim that the verdict in the case of V. V. Ashford should be set aside. The correspondence in this case has not been made public although it is generally understood among the supporters of the Government that the executive officials of the country will not attempt to set aside the action of a court the validity of whose formation and subsequent action has been accepted by Great Britain and upheld by the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of Hawaii.

The validity of the Military Commission was brought to test before the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands through habeas corpus proceedings to secure the release of J. C. Kalanianole, "Prince Cupid," convicted of misprision of treason and sentenced to one year's imprisonment at hard labor and to pay a fine of one thousand dollars. The petition was filed May 20, 1895 and the case was argued before the full bench, Chief Justice Judd and Justices Bickerton and Frear, at the special May Term. Paul Neumann appeared for the petitioner and A. S. Hartwell and Lorrin A. Thurston for respondent. No sufficient ground being shown for the discharge of the petitioner he was remanded to the custody of the Government.

The briefs of counsel together with the decision of the court by Justice Frear have been published in book form. The syllabus of the court decision is given as follows:

"Under Article 31 of the Constitution, which provides that the President may, in case of rebellion or invasion, or imminent danger thereof, place the whole or any part of the Republic under martial law, the President alone is to decide whether the exigency is such as to require martial law, and how long martial law when proclaimed shall continue in force; and his decision is not subject to review by the courts.

"Under martial law, in case of insurrection, the military commander may do whatever, in accordance with the customs

and usages of war, he may deem necessary or proper for the suppression of the insurrection and the restoration of peace, and his acts cannot be called in question by the courts except in case of an abuse of power.

"Under martial law, if necessary, in the opinion of the military commander, for the restoration of peace, a civilian may be tried by a military commission for misprision of treason.

"Such trial may take place after actual hostilities have ceased and while the civil courts are in session, if there is still a state of war, and an impediment to such trials in the civil courts.

"Misprision of treason, if committed, is not necessarily completed before an actual outbreak or the proclamation of martial law.

"Notwithstanding a reservation in a proclamation of martial law that the civil courts would continue to conduct ordinary business, a person may, if necessary in the opinion of the President, be tried by a military commission.

"The President may delegate to a Judge Advocate the power to bring a person before a military commission for trial."

Shortly after the close of the Military Commission's work the Executive and Advisory Councils passed an Indemnity Act and other laws relating to judicial investigation of claims against the government, sedition and to "persons having certain lawless intentions." These were passed without a dissenting vote and were duly signed by the President.

REVIEW.

To the future historian the revolt of 1895 will mark the final test in the crucial stage of the Hawaiian Republic. Among the citizens of larger and more powerful nations the few days of actual fighting and the small number killed and wounded would possibly lead to the conclusion that the whole affair might be summed up in the expression "Much ado about nothing." But notwithstanding the conclusions which may be drawn by those unacquainted with the conditions of the country, the revolt of 1895 marks the downfall of all hopes for the restoration of a monarchy and established the ability of the Republic to maintain itself against even the armed

opposition of men whose disgruntled leaders had played upon a misguided sympathy. While it had been hoped that civil strife would be avoided in the Hawaiian Republic, fate seemed to declare that the lesson was necessary. It was the storm that cleared the political air. The misguided ones tested the strength of republican support and found no weakness and on the other hand they had demonstrated to them the utter lack of true patriotism among those who had urged them on to take up arms. Today the body politic stands a united people with complete confidence in and loyalty to those in whose power has been placed the administration of the laws of the land.

APPENDIX.

H. HACKFELD & COMPANY.

The firm of H. Hackfeld & Co. was established on October 1, 1849, by Captain Henry Hackfeld, a German, who had previously been trading between Honolulu and Mexico, South America and China, and had become favorably impressed by the Islands. He brought with him his young wife and his brother-in-law, Mr. J. C. Pflueger, then 16 years old, and started a small store on Queen street, near the old store of J. T. Waterhouse. In 1853 Mr. Hackfeld admitted his brother-in-law as partner of the firm, and the business having been successful, larger quarters were secured in the store owned by Dr. R. W. Wood, now the crockery store of Mr. J. T. Waterhouse. The firm had a large share of the whaling business, which was then at its best. In 1861 Mr. Hackfeld returned to Germany to attend to the interests of the firm in Europe, where he died on October 20, 1887, being 71 years old. Mr. Pflueger became sole manager in Honolulu in 1861, and he succeeded in bringing the firm to the foremost rank on the Islands. They imported largely dry goods and other merchandise in their own vessels, viz., A. J. Pope, R. W. Wood, R. C. Wyllie, Kaenoi, Iolanl, C. R. Bishop, etc. They also were agents for the oldest sugar plantations on the Islands, and had the business of the first steamers running between San Francisco, Honolulu and Australia.

In 1871 Mr. Pflueger left for Germany, where he died on October 5,

1883, being only 50 years old, and after having made two visits to Honolulu, viz., in 1874 and 1881.

From 1871 to 1881 Messrs. J. C. Glade, E. Feirstenau, and later on H. W. Schmidt had charge of the firm's business, which in 1875 was transferred to the old Court House premises.

After the beginning of the Reciprocity Treaty the firm assisted greatly by its financial aid in the establishment of the following new sugar plantations, viz.: Waianae Co., Waimanalo Sugar Co., Kilauea Sugar Co., Kekaha Sugar Co. and Plantations, Kipahulu Sugar Co., Kukaihan Plantation Co. and Ookala Sugar Plantation Co. In 1881 Messrs. H. Hackfeld, J. C. Pflueger and J. C. Glade became silent partners with limited liability, and Messrs. Paul Isenberg, H. F. Glade and J. F. Hackfeld (a nephew of H. Hackfeld) entered the firm. In 1886 Mr. E. Muller was admitted into the firm, but he retired again in 1890. Mr. H. W. Schmidt (now Senator for Honolulu) left the firm in 1889, in order to establish his own business under the well known firm of H. W. Schmidt & Sons, and in 1891 Mr. H. F. Glade retired and returned to Germany, leaving Mr. Paul Isenberg, now residing in Bremen, and Mr. H. Hackfeld, now manager of the firm in Honolulu, as general partners.

The firm, in connection with their agents in Bremen, Messrs. J. C. Pflueger & Co. (J. C. Pflueger, Jr., and C. Henoch, Jr.), are still running their own vessels between Bremen and Liverpool and Honolulu. The

same are known as the barks H. Hackfeld, J. C. Pflueger, Paul Isenberg, J. C. Glade, and ships Marie Hackfeld and H. F. Glade.

They are agents for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company, whose steamers are now making semi-monthly calls at Honolulu between San Francisco and Japan and China, and the firm is also agents for the following sugar plantations: Lihue Plantation Co., Koloa Sugar Co., Grove Farm Plantation, Hanamaulu Sugar Plantation, Kekaha Sugar Company, Meier-Kruse, H. P. Faye Co., Pioneer Mill Co., Kipahulu Sugar Co., and Kukalau Plantation Co.

In 1890, at the instigation of Hon. Geo. N. Wilcox, the firm identified itself with a guano enterprise on Layson Island, now known as the Pacific Guano and Fertilizer Co. This corporation erected large fertilizer and acid works at Kalihi in 1893 and 1894, the capacity of which is now being doubled, owing to the increased demand for artificial fertilizers on the Islands.

The firm has always held the German and Russian Consulates, Mr. J. W. Pflueger (a brother of J. C. Pflueger) being Russian Vice Consul at Honolulu from 1871 to 1883.

The following gentlemen are now special partners of the firm: Mr. J. C. Glade, residing at Wiesbaden; Mr. J. W. Pflueger, residing at Bremen; Mr. J. C. Pflueger, residing at Bremen; Prof. H. H. Pflueger, residing at Bonn.

HAWAIIAN FERTILIZING COMPANY.

The Hawaiian Fertilizing Company was organized by the present proprietor and manager, A. Frank Cooke, in 1888, and has grown from a struggling enterprise, furnishing to plantations two thousand tons of stable manure annually, to one of the largest fertilizing works on the Islands, the grounds and buildings covering nearly five acres of land at Iwelel. It is solely through the energy displayed by Mr. Cooke that the company is in its present prosperous condition. When he

conceived the plan of supplying plantations with fertilizers he engaged the old bone mill at Kalihi Kai, formerly owned by G. J. Waller, the present manager of the Metropolitan Meat Co. But by economy and rare managerial ability the business soon outgrew the accommodations and facilities to supply the demand made upon it. Land was leased at Iwelel and the company, yielding to the pressure brought by a growing clientele, the lines were extended until Mr. Cooke found it advisable to purchase the valuable tract where the works are now situated.

Being essentially a home industry, it has supplied a revenue to Hawaiians, engaged by the company as bone gatherers, all over the Islands. Its present condition and output is evidence of the quality of the product. Besides consuming yearly hundreds of tons of bones gathered here, the company was the first among the largest importers of nitrates and phosphates in the country.

It has business connections in the United States, Europe and South America, who supply the home factory with the highest grade fertilizers for compounding purposes. From the United States and Germany sulphate of ammonia, double super-phosphates and potash is secured, while the nitrates used are from the famous banks in Chili. Of the double super-phosphates, they carry phosphoric acid to the extent of thirty-five or forty per cent., soluble in water, and are the highest grades imported to this country.

The wonderful Natural Plant Food, a product of Florida, U. S. A., is also imported by the company in large quantities and treated with chemicals, so that excellent results are obtained. These fertilizers, and they have no superior anywhere, are sold by the Hawaiian Fertilizing Co. at prices ranging to 25 per cent. less than that of other manufacturers. This is made possible by Mr. Cooke from the fact that the consumer is not called upon to contribute toward the expense of maintaining high salaried employes. The company owns in fee simple everything, in connection with the works, and careful buying, without having to pay agents' commissions, is a leading factor in obtaining this result.

Since the establishment of the Experiment Station, analysis of soil is made and the strength and character of fertilizers required for districts throughout the Islands is obtainable. Orders for fertilizers mailed to the Hawaiian Fertilizing Co., with copies of such analysis, will be promptly and satisfactorily filled.

All communications should be addressed to

A. F. COOKE,
Proprietor and Manager, Honolulu, H. I.

E. O. HALL & SON, LIMITED.

The business of E. O. Hall & Son, Limited, was commenced in 1852, under the firm name of E. O. Hall, at the corner of Fort and King streets, Honolulu, the site still occupied by the firm.

For over a year after starting, the business was under the personal charge of Mr. T. L. Leyman, a half-brother to E. O. Hall, who at that time was editing the Polynesian newspaper.

In those early years most of the customers were natives, and besides hardware the stock consisted of dry goods of all kinds and quite an assortment of groceries. In 1859 William W. Hall entered the employ of the firm as clerk, and became partner with his father in 1865, when the name of the firm was changed to E. O. Hall & Son.

The firm continued to deal in hardware, agricultural implements, dry goods, leather, paints and oils, silver-plated ware, wooden ware, tools of all kinds, kerosene oil, etc., until about the year 1878, when dry goods were dropped, except a few staple articles.

In 1880 Mr. E. Oscar White, a grandson of E. O. Hall, became an employee of the firm. In 1883 the business was incorporated, and during that same year Edwin O. Hall, the founder of the business, died while on a visit to the United States.

About ten years ago the company put in stock a complete line of ship chandlery, and this has become one of the principal features of

the business. This includes a large assortment of manila rope and iron and steel wire rope of all sizes up to four inches.

The capital stock of the corporation is \$150,000. The following are the officers of the corporation, who also constitute the Board of Directors: William W. Hall, President and Manager; E. Oscar White, Secretary and Treasurer; William F. Allen, Auditor; T. May and T. W. Hobron, Directors.

OAHU RAILWAY AND LAND COMPANY.

This Company is now running trains to Waianae, 33½ miles from Honolulu, the new Extension of fifteen miles beyond Ewa Plantation having been completed July 1, 1895. The equipment of the road is first-class in every particular. Excursion rates are maintained from Saturday morning till Monday of each week. A first-class hotel is in course of erection at Waianae, and will afford unequalled bathing facilities. A delightful ride through varied and unsurpassed scenery, a day of rest and pleasure at Waianae, make an excursion on the Oahu Railway one of the most attractive features of the Islands, not only to tourists, but to residents of Honolulu as well.

Pearl City, located on the famous Pearl Harbor, the proposed naval and coaling station of the United States, has been laid out in streets, provided with a complete system of water works, picnic grounds, dancing pavilion, boat houses, etc. Over \$100,000 in lots have been sold to 150 different purchasers, and a number of residences erected; a few very desirable lots may yet be had on very reasonable terms. With a perfect climate and the pure air from mountain and sea, no other spot on earth can equal this as a health resort. Dr. P. S. Kellogg, of Battle Creek, Mich., says of this locality in a recent letter: "When we had reached a height of 1,000 feet, we could observe a marked difference in the atmosphere; so cool, pure and bracing was it that we were impressed with the thought that here, removed from the con-

taminating influences of unsanitary surroundings, was an ideal spot for the invalid to find rest for body and mind."

LANDS. This Company controls over 80,000 acres of valuable land. Since its organization in 1888, it has promoted two extensive sugar plantations representing a cash capital invested of over \$2,000,000. This, together with the development of promising fruit, coffee and canaigre industries, is evidence of its enterprise and transforming influence on the Island of Oahu. A third sugar plantation on an extensive scale is projected, and there are many opportunities for smaller industries along the line of road. The proposed extension to Kahuku, 53 miles beyond the present terminus, will reach another large area of magnificent sugar, rice and coffee lands; the road has been on a paying basis since it was built, and as it is further extended will be a blessing to every one interested, directly or indirectly, in this Island. G. P. Denison, Superintendent, B. F. Dillingham, General Manager.

CASTLE & COOKE.

The firm of Castle & Cooke was formed in 1851 by Samuel N. Castle and Amos S. Cooke.

Samuel Northrup Castle, senior partner, was born in Cazenovia, N. Y., August 12th, 1808, was cashier before coming to the Islands in a Cleveland, Ohio bank. He accepted in 1836 the position of financial agent of the American Board of Missions for the Islands and landed here April 9, 1837. He remained as such agent until 1865. In 1851 he formed with Amos S. Cooke the mercantile firm of Castle & Cooke and continued his relationship until his death, July 14, 1894, at the age of 86 years,

Amos Starr Cooke was born in Danbury, Conn., in 1810. As a young man he served several years as a bookkeeper with a large wholesale firm in New York. In 1836 he accepted an appointment as teacher for the Sandwich Islands Mission from the American Board and landed in Honolulu April 9, 1837. Mr. and Mrs. Cooke became the principals

of the school for the young chiefs which position they held until about 1851 when Mr. Cooke associated himself with Mr. S. N. Castle and formed the firm of Castle & Cooke. Mr. Cooke on account of failing health withdrew from active business in 1863, although his interest continued until purchased by his son in 1871.

J. B. Atherton was born in Boston Nov. 9th, 1837, received his education there, was three years as clerk in a wholesale commission house before coming to Honolulu, arriving here in December, 1858, by the ship "Syren." In March, 1859 he became a clerk for Castle & Cooke and January 1st, 1863, became a partner, remaining as such until the closing up of the firm in 1894, and was then elected President and Manager of the corporation, Castle & Cooke, Limited, which position he still holds.

Joseph Platt Cooke, eldest son of Amos S. Cooke, was born in Honolulu June 15, 1838, was educated at Punahou and Yale College, graduating from the latter in 1863. Mr. Cooke returned at once to Honolulu and took his father's place with the firm of Castle & Cooke. After the death of Mr. Cooke, senior, in 1871, his son purchased his interest in the firm and remained such until his death in 1879.

George P. Castle, third son of S. N. Castle, was born in Honolulu April 29, 1851, was educated at Punahou and Ann Arbor, Michigan. He returned to Honolulu in 1874, when he became a clerk with Castle & Cooke, remaining such until 1882 when he purchased a portion of his father's interest and became a partner, remaining such until the closing up of the firm and its incorporation as Castle & Cooke, Limited, when he was elected Vice-President, which position he now holds.

Wm. A. Bowen, nephew of S. N. Castle, was born in York, Ohio, March 17, 1853, was educated at Oberlin College and came to Honolulu, arriving July 16, 1878, at which time he became bookkeeper for Castle & Cooke. In 1888 he purchased an interest in the firm and remained a partner until the incorporation of the firm into Castle & Cooke, Limited, when he was elected Treasurer, which position he still holds.

Edward D. Tenney, nephew of S. N. Castle, was born in Plainfield, N. Y., January 26th, 1859; was educated there and in Janesville Ohio;

came to the Islands in 1877 spending the first few years in cane cultivation at Papaikou, Hawaii. In 1880 he came to Honolulu and became a clerk with Castle & Cooke, remaining such until 1889 when he purchased an interest in the firm. In 1894 when the firm became incorporated he was elected Secretary of Castle & Cooke, Limited, and remains such at this time.

THE PACIFIC HARDWARE COMPANY.

The Pacific Hardware Company, a limited corporation, holds the distinction of possessing the oldest hardware store west of the Rocky Mountains, having been first started by Henry Dimond in 1849. Later the business was carried on by Hall & Dimond and in 1869 passed into the hands of Dillingham & Co. The firm was made up of B. F. Dillingham and Alfred Castle. Mr. Castle, being at the time Registrar of Public Accounts, was not an active member, and upon Mr. Dillingham devolved the management of the business. This partnership continued for five years, and about the time of its expiration Mr. Castle died. Mr. Dillingham continued the business, however, in his own interest and that of his late partner's estate until 1884, when the concern was incorporated under the name of the Pacific Hardware Company. In 1880 James G. Spencer became a member of the firm. Since 1884 Mr. Dillingham has been President of the Company.

The elegant brick structure of the Pacific Hardware Company on Fort street is unquestionably one of the handsomest business stores in Honolulu, and was erected especially for their use. In addition to the large stock of hardware here carried, they also have a choice collection of art goods, a separate room for the exhibition of which is set apart in the upper portion of the building. The two stories of the building are occupied by this company, a broad and ornamental staircase connecting the two. The salesrooms are commodious and ample in size, being about 75 by 100 feet in dimensions.

A handsome stock of the many articles used in home decorations is also carried, as well as a full line of plantation supplies.

The present officers of the company are President, B. F. Dillingham; Secretary, Jas. G. Spencer; Treasurer, G. S. Harris, Jr.; Auditor, W. F. Allen.

THE HAWAIIAN ELECTRIC COMPANY.

The Hawaiian Electric Company was the pioneer electric lighting and supply company of the Hawaiian Islands, to be organized by private citizens. The enterprise was first started by E. O. Hall & Sons, being incorporated in January, 1893, with a capital stock of \$20,000. The capital stock has since been raised to \$250,000. The present officers of the company are President, W. G. Irwin; Vice-President, J. A. Hopper; Treasurer, Godfrey Brown; Secretary, W. M. Giffard; Auditor, J. F. Hackfeld. The works of the company occupy a brick building 100 ft. by 100 ft. at the corner of Alakea and Halekauila streets, to which has also been attached the large cold storage building. Steam power is used entirely, there being two 150 horse power tubular boilers and one 350 horse power Hine safety boiler. There are three engines of 100, 300 and 350 horse power respectively, and four dynamos supply electricity for the system of 6,000 incandescent and arc lights and motors used in different business houses about town. The management of the company's works is in the hands of Theo. Hoffman, a practical electrician who has held the position since Sept. 1, 1894. W. F. Warriner is first superintendent. In the spring of 1896 an ice manufacturing plant was added, also a cold storage building with a capacity of 100,000 cubic feet. The ice plant manufactures all the ice used in the city of Honolulu. The refrigerating engine is a Frick compound Corliss type of 100 horse power, run with compound condensers. The water before made into ice is reboiled twice and filtered five times. The cold storage plant is divided into fifteen rooms with temperature

varying from 10 deg. to 42 deg. Far. Meat markets, grocers, fruit and liquor dealers of the city have already taken up nearly all the available space of the plant. The building is two stories with all the latest fittings as electric elevators, electric lights through all the rooms, overhead tracks in the large meat rooms, etc., etc. In the electrical department the company keeps a large stock of electrical fittings and is prepared to install electric plants and supply all the necessary fittings for house lighting.

M. W. McCHESNEY & SONS.

This firm was established in 1879 by Matthew Watson McChesney who came to the Islands from New York State. Mr. McChesney was a tanner by trade and established a small tannery in connection with a grocery store the goods for which he brought out on his first trip. The following year his two sons H. N. and R. W. McChesney came to the country and conducted the grocery business which had grown sufficiently to require more assistance. The founder of the firm died in 1888 at the age of 83 years. At this time H. N. McChesney sold out his interest and the firm was conducted by J. M., F. W. and R. W. McChesney. During the ten years that had elapsed the grocery department had developed a large wholesale trade throughout the Islands and the tannery had also been enlarged to meet the demands of the increasing business of the country. In 1881, the Honolulu Soap Works was added to the enterprises in which the firm of McChesney & Sons were the prime movers. These works, started in a small way, have constantly enlarged and now turn out ten tons of pure grade laundry soap at each boiling. This department employs a good number of men and now supply nearly all the island trade with laundry soap, the output averaging some 800 boxes per month. The members of the firm have also taken a lively interest in the fruit trade of the country, F. W. McChesney being the president of the Woodlawn Fruit

Company, which has lately established a large canning factory for canning pineapples and other fruit products of the country. The firm has also figured prominently as the pioneers in the sale of Island coffee. Although Hawaii is a coffee producing country, many of the wholesale and retail houses had supplied their trade with imported material when the berry was growing on the hillsides of their own country. Although the coffee product is yet rather small, McChesney & Sons took what there was and prepared it for the market, finding ready purchasers. The guardian spirit of this firm may well be said to be home manufacture. The men who compose the firm are highly respected, active business men who have been prominent in politics as well as business circles.

WM. G. IRWIN & CO.

This firm is composed of Messrs. Claus Spreckels and Wm. G. Irwin, and controls the entire Spreckels interests in the Hawaiian Islands, Mr. W. G. Irwin being the acting partner in the firm. Wm. G. Irwin & Co. are the leading factors in the sugar business of these Islands. This firm was first established in 1874 by Wm. G. Irwin, Col. Z. S. Spaulding and John S. Walker, who continued as its proprietors until 1880, when the firm dissolved, and Messrs. Irwin and Spreckels became associated and continued the business under the old name. On July 1st, 1890, the concern was incorporated with a capital of \$500,000, all the stock being retained by the principals, except a small amount that was placed among the trusted employes of the firm. Prior to 1880 Mr. Spreckels had become largely interested in the sugar industry of Hawaii, but up to that time had nobody directly representing his interests. His operations became, however, so extended that he found it necessary to have a regular representative at Honolulu, and having become well and favorably acquainted with Mr. Irwin in previous transactions, in which the latter acted in the capacity of sugar buyer.

for J. D. Spreckels of San Francisco, he made W. G. Irwin his partner. The prestige, enterprise and enormous wealth of Claus Spreckels at his back gave this firm immense advantage over all competitors. In addition to the plantations of which Mr. Spreckels was already whole or part owner, the agency and control of others was secured by advancing money, both on crops and on the plantations themselves, this firm having had due them at one time from planters on these Islands some two and a half millions of dollars. New plantations were also started on the firm's account. They acted as the Islands agents for the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Co. from its inception. They also started and enlarged numerous others, including the Paauhau Plantation, the Hakalau Plantation, the Hilo Sugar Co., and the Hutchinson Plantation, each of which has an annual capacity of from six to seven thousand tons. The total amount of sugar handled by Wm. G. Irwin & Co. from the crop of 1891 was nearly 50,000 tons.

Another important branch of the business of Wm. G. Irwin & Co. is the agency of the Oceanic Steamship Company, which runs one steamer, namely, the "Australia," between the ports of Honolulu and San Francisco, and the "Mariposa" and the "Alameda" between San Francisco and Australia, and which also runs a large number of packets between the Islands and the Pacific coast, carrying lumber and merchandise to Wm. G. Irwin & Co. and others of Honolulu, and returning to San Francisco with sugar and rice. The company is also agent for the new Japan-Seattie line, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

The lines of merchandise dealt in by Wm. G. Irwin & Co. consist of such goods as are in demand on plantations and in plantation districts. Their trade is large and extends all over the Islands, but the bulk of it consists in supplying the plantations of which they have the exclusive control.

All the various departments of this enormous business, as well as all the plantations themselves, are under the direct supervision of Mr. Wm. G. Irwin.

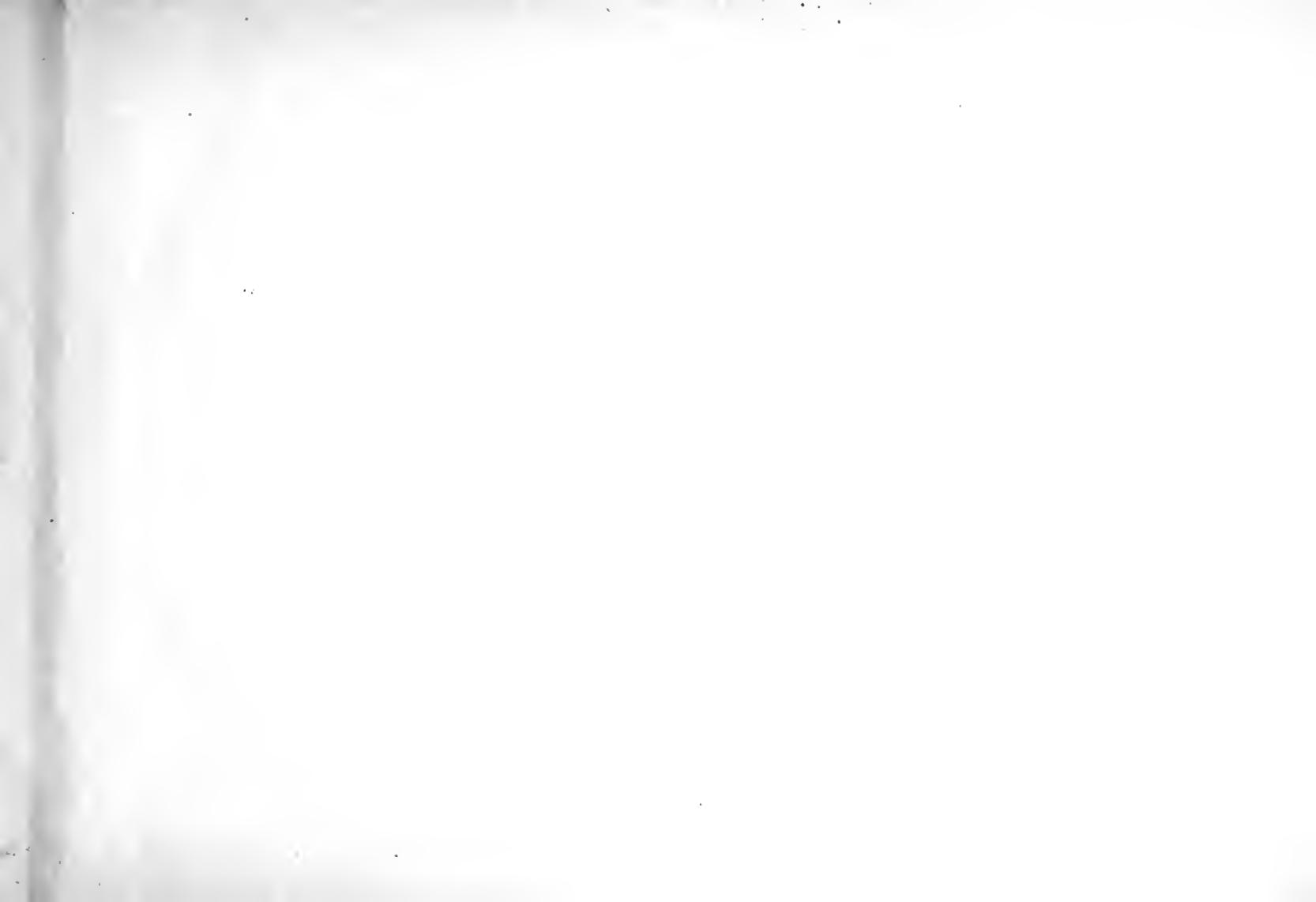
ST. LOUIS COLLEGE.

The St. Louis College, G. Bertram principal, is located at the foot of Beretania street. The premises, abounding with luxuriant vegetation and all kinds of tropical trees and plants, formerly belonged to the "Montgomery Estate," and were purchased by the late Rt. Rev. Hermann, D. D., Bishop of Olba, as the site for this college. He erected a two-story brick building, and after its erection, procured a corps of teachers from the States. In 1883 these took charge of the institution. At the end of the first year it was found necessary to provide additional accommodations on account of the rapid increase in the number of pupils. Two large, roomy two-story buildings were then erected.

The buildings, though modest in appearance, are well furnished. The chemical and philosophical apparatus was imported from Europe. The College also possesses a collection of minerals and Hawaiian curios and a library for the use of the students. The latter contains a good selection of juvenile books, and several of the leading American periodicals.

The St. Louis College aims to be a first-class preparatory, classical and commercial school. The course of studies is well graded. It is completed in the High Class, in which a thorough and practical knowledge in the several departments of business, literature and science is imparted. Students may pursue special courses in music, art and modern languages. Greek and Latin are optional.





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